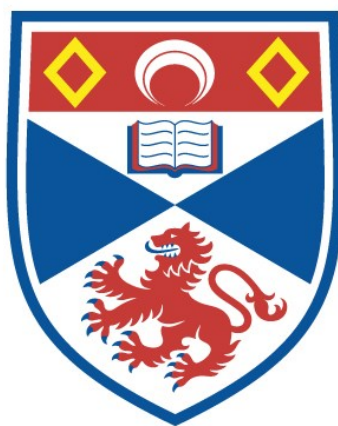


EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF JAPAN IN SCOTTISH COLLECTIONS

Hanako Murata

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
University of St Andrews



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UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF JAPAN
IN
SCOTTISH COLLECTIONS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY
IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN MUSEUM AND GALLERY STUDIES



BY
HANAKO MURATA

ST ANDREWS, SCOTLAND
SEPTEMBER 1997

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date 29/09/1997 signature of candidate

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To my parents

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies Japanese photography before 1945. This field is very large; it includes photographs taken in Japan by British and other foreign visitors to Japan and Japanese images taken in Britain. Broadly speaking, the collections are mainly of Japanese photographs collected by Scottish people and held in Scottish collections and institutions.

Scotland has collections of historic photographs of Japan in its museums, universities, libraries and societies. The study of these images can reveal how the British saw Japan at this time. These photographs will be investigated from various angles. These are as follows:

1. How were these collections made?

- Who took the photographs and for what purpose?
- Who bought or brought the photographs to Scotland and for what purpose?
- The provenance of the photographs.

In addition, if the photograph is of Japanese people in Britain or Scotland, why those people were in this country will be investigated.

2. How have the collections been managed?

- Have the collections been used in exhibitions and are they open to the public?
- If so, what kind of exhibition were they used in?
- Whether the museum has particular future plans for the collection.
- Conservation aspects.

Researching these photographs and associated material has given valuable insights into the relationships between the two countries, especially the very early period of contacts between Scotland and Japan.

At the present time, the position of early photographs is coming to a turning point. Photographs have not always been given the same value as objects in museums, in the past photographs have been seen more as visual information rather than as historic objects in their own right. However, now these early photographs are beginning to hold a special position as a record of history, as historic objects and as works of art. Researching the history and provenance of these photographs will guide us in considering the role of old photographs in the future.

To progress with this research, it was vital to know the quantity and location of early Japanese photographs in the UK. In studying this subject, I made inquiries to the 34 major British museums, libraries, universities and other institutions which might have had a connection with early Japanese photograph collections. This resulted in a number of positive replies concerning a total number of photographs which could be estimated at about 2,500 to 3,000.

In this thesis, because of the great number of photographs, and in order to research the relationships between Scotland and Japan in the early age of photography more deeply, I have concentrated on studying the Scottish collections. They belong to six institutions and one private owner, and in total there are 361 images.

For further information, the list of institutions to which enquiries were made about early Japanese photographs collection will be included. This information is useful because it shows us just how many early Japanese photographs have been collected by British people and institutions, and are held at present.¹

¹ Appendix 1.

ILLUSTRATIONS I : FIGURES

1. Chart; Major subject categories in the Yokohama Prints.
2. Chart; Detailed subject categories in the Yokohama Prints.
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4. Woodcut Print; Yeishi(unsigned), *A Comparison of Selected Green House Beauties. The Oiran Takigawa of Ogi-ya Dressed to Receive a New Guest*, c1794. From Laurence Binyon and J. J. O'Brien Sexton, *Japanese Colour Prints* edited by Basil Gray (London, 1960).
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6. Woodcut Print; Utamaro Kitagawa, *The Hairdresser*, from *Twelve Tasks Performed by Women*. From Ichitaro Kondo, *Kitagawa Utamaro* (Tokyo, 1957).
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9. Woodcut Print; Katsukawa Shunsho, *The Actor Otani Hiroemon IV as a Highwayman in a Play Performed*, 1777. From Hiller.
10. Woodcut Print; Hiroshige: *Wisteria Blooms over Water at Kameido* from *One Hundred Views of Edo*, c.1857. From Frank Whitford, *Japanese Prints and Western Painters* (London, 1977), 183.
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18. Portrait of James Bruce, the eighth Lord Elgin and twelfth Kincardine, KT. From Morison, J. L. *The Eighth Earl of Elgin*. A Chapter In Nineteenth-Century Imperial History.
19. Coat of Arms of the Roden Family.
20. Portrait of (left-right)) Felice Beato, Major J. Dormer, Major J. Thurlow and Lieutenant Colonel H. H. Crealock. From *History of Photography*. Vol. 11, No. 1, January-March 1987. 25.
21. Drawing; Bedwell, *Exchange of Full Powers Between the Earl of Elgin & Japanese Commissioners*, 1858. From Laurence Oliphant. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59*. vol. 2. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1859).
22. Portrait of Andrew Carnegie. From Wall, Joseph Frazier. *Andrew Carnegie*, .
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36. The inside of Kuwada & Co. From Nihon Shashinka-kyokai, *Nihon Shashinshi 1840-1945* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 470.
37. Portrait of Hikoma Uyeno- the age of twenty three which was attributed to Kuwajiro Horie, wet-grass plate, 1860. From Ozawa, Takeshi. ed. *Bakumatsu-Shashin no Jidai* (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobo, 1996), 141.
38. Portrait of Uyeno Family. Hikoma Uyeno(right). From Ozawa, Takeshi. ed. *Bakumatsu-Shashin no Jidai* (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobo, 1996), 142.
39. Standard reverse of *carte de visite* which was used by Hikoma Uyeno's studio.
40. Ibid.

ILLUSTRATIONS II : PLATES

Titles employed in this list of illustrations, and the captions to the photographs, are as given by the owner in the manuscript list at the beginning of the album. In some instances, the owner's title does not agree precisely with the information printed on the photographs by the photographers themselves. The list will take the following form, plate accession number, artist's name, title, print process, date, owner, and accession number of the owner if it is clear. When a photograph does not have a title, or when the location of the image is recognised by the author, the title is given in square brackets, thus []. This list also includes the images of items as plate.

Section II.

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- 2, 3 & 4a. Layout of Plate. 2, 3 and 4 on original page.
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3. William Nassau Jocelyn, *Groups in Japan [Group in Japan (1)]*, albumen print, 1858. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT, Dunfermline, Fife.
4. William Nassau Jocelyn, *Groups in Japan [Group in Japan (2)]*, albumen print, 1858. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT, Dunfermline, Fife.

Chapter 2. Glasgow University Business Records Centre

- 5 Anonymous photographer, *Group of Five Japanese Students, London [The Choshu Five in London]*, albumen print, framed, 1863. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/1.
- 5a. Detail of Plate 5.
6. Anonymous photographer, *Group of Several Japanese Businessmen [Portrait of Japanese Group]*, albumen print, 1912. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/7.
7. Riyo Maruki, *Japanese Couple Named Shigeya and Nobu Kondo*, albumen print, 1912. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/8.

- 7a. Back of the paper frame of Plate 7.
8. Shinichi Suzuki, *Lady in Traditional Japanese Dress [Studio Portrait of Shidzuko Iwasaki]*, Cabinet Card, 1884-92. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/29.
- 8a. Back of the paper frame of Plate 8.
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- 9a. Back of the paper frame of Plate 9.
10. Anonymous photographer, *Edward A. Brown and Thomas B. Glover (probably in Tokyo)*, gelatin silver print, framed, c1910/11. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/5.
11. Anonymous photographer, *Edward A. Brown and Thomas B. Glover (probably in Tokyo)*, gelatin silver print, c1910/11. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/6.
12. Anonymous photographer, *George McFarlane*, gelatin silver print, 1900s-40s. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/30.
13. Lafayette Ltd, *Group of Five Businessmen*, gelatin silver print, c1936. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/9 and 2/10.
14. Anonymous photographer, *Mr. Ronald Macdonald, Director of A. R. Brown, McFarlane & Co. Ltd.*, gelatin silver print, c1930s. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/20.
15. The front cover of photograph album, A.R.BROWN MC. FARLANE & CO. LTD./ GLASGOW. GUD 172. 4. 1/1.
16. Anonymous photographer, *H.M.S.[H.I.J.M.S.] "YAHAGI" 2nd Class Cruiser*, gelatin silver print, 1911. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
17. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Steam Floating Crane*, gelatin silver print, c1913. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
18. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Steam Floating Crane (2)*, gelatin silver print, c1913. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
19. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Steam Floating Crane (3)*, gelatin silver print, c1913. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

20. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Steam Floating Crane (4)*, gelatin silver print, c1913. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
21. Anonymous photographer, *S.S. "Anyo Maru" (SS 229) Steamship Fitted with Parsons' Geared Turbines*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
22. Anonymous photographer, *S.S. "Katori Maru" (S.S.230) Fitted with Turbines & Reciprocating Engine*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
23. Anonymous photographer, *[Shipyard Gantry in Japan]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
24. Anonymous photographer, *[Crane ?]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
25. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Floating Crane, Tested up to 75 Tons*, gelatin silver print, 23 October 1913. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
26. Anonymous photographer, *[Steamship]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
27. Anonymous photographer, *[Details of Steamship with People Unloading Goods into Chinese Junks]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
28. Anonymous photographer, *150 Ton Giant Crane*, gelatin silver print, December 1909. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
29. Anonymous photographer, *150 Ton Giant Crane*, gelatin silver print, December 1909. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
30. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Crane - Alongside S.S. "Suwa Maru" at Quay Wall 9th April, 1914*, gelatin silver print, 1914. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
31. Anonymous photographer, *[Steamship]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
32. Anonymous photographer, *[Steamship]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

33. Anonymous photographer, T.S.S. "*Shanghai Maru*" - *Launched at Dumbarton, 28th August, 1922*, gelatin silver print, 1922. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.
34. Anonymous photographer, "*Meiji Maru*" *When New* [Painting of "*Meiji Maru*" in 1874], unknown date. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/3.
35. Anonymous photographer, *The Vessel "Meiji Maru" ["Meiji Maru" in Japan with Inset Portrait of A. R. Brown]*, unknown date. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/28.
36. Anonymous photographer, *Kanno-Saki Lighthouse; First Established in Japan*, albumen print, 1869. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/2.
37. Uchida Kuichi, *Japanese Officer in Dress Uniform [The Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito]*, albumen print, 1873. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/31.
38. Uchida Kuichi, *Lady in Traditional Japanese Dress [The Meiji Empress, Haruko]*, albumen print, 1873. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/32.

Chapter 3. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum

39. The front cover of Carnegie Album, Vol. 1 : JAPAN/ "ROUND THE WORLD"/ 1879/ Andrew Carnegie.
40. The title page of Carnegie Album, Vol. 1 : VIEW & CUSTUMES/ OF/ JAPAN/ STILLFRIED & ANDERSEN./ YOKOHAMA.
41. The front cover of Carnegie Album, Vol. 2 : JAPAN/ "ROUND THE WORLD"/ 1879/ Andrew Carnegie.
42. Pages of the Carnegie Album with page order numbers added by Andrew Carnegie.
43. The Modern Solander Boxes in which the Carnegie albums are stored.
44. Carnegie, Andrew. *Round the World*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884. Donated to the museum by Mrs. Margaret Carnegie Miller in November 1968.
45. Uchida Kuichi, *The Mikado [The Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito]*, albumen tinted print, 1873. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
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46. Uchida Kuichi, *Her Majesty [The Meiji Empress, Haruko]*, albumen tinted print, 1873. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
47. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Five Geishas Playing Musical Instruments]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
48. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Three Dancing Girls with Japanese Fans]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
49. Felice Beato, *[Street Vendor of Amazake(Fermented Drink)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
50. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Oiran Courtesan with Girl]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
51. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Deliver Man]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
52. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Couple at Dinner]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
53. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Girls Posing with Musical Instruments(Shamisen & Koto)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
54. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Angry Mistress Hitting Her Servant with a Sandal]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
55. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Sitting Girls with Tobacco Pipe]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
56. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Four Girls, Three Dancing and One Playing Shamisen]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
57. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Girls Posing with Pipe]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
58. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Men with Tatoood Back]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
59. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Girls with Japanese Umbrella]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

60. Felice Beato, [*Mother Carrying Baby on Her Back*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
61. Felice Beato, [*Porter with Mino(Coat) & Kasa(Hat)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
62. Felice Beato, [*Man Posing in Pilgrim Costume*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
63. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Ainu Women*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
64. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Pregnant Woman*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
65. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *Ainus Island of Yesso [Three Ainu Men]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
66. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Woman Wearing Festival Costume, Holding Tokkuri(Flask) & Sakazuki(Drinking Bowl)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
67. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Ainu Men*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
68. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Two Buddhist Nuns*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
69. Felice Beato, *Wrestlers [Two Sumo Wrestlers with Gyoji(Referee)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
70. Anonymous photographer, *Porters, Yokohama [Four Porters with Wooden Staffs, Mino(Coat) & Kasa(Hat)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
71. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Mother Carrying a Baby on Her Back with Three Children*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
72. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *The Leading Tragedian [Man in the Formal Dress of a High Ranking Samurai]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
73. Anonymous photographer, *Shampooers [Blind Masseur and Old Lady Customer]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

74. Anonymous photographer, [*Mail Delivery Man*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

75. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *An Ahetto[?] [Man with Tatooed Back]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

76. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Four Girls, One Sitting*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

77. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of Three Girls in an Argument*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

76 & 77a. Original layout of Plate. 76 and 77.

78. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of a Draper's Shop*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

79. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Mistress and Maid at Breakfast*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

78 & 79a. Original layout of Plate. 78 and 79.

80. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of Pipe Seller and Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

81. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of Plant Seller and Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

80 & 81a. Original layout of Plate. 80 and 81.

82. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Five Girls with Wearing Fine Kimonos and One Sitting*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

83. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Three Girls Playing Go Game*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

82 & 83a. Original layout of Plate. 82 and 83.

84. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Hairdresser Setting Customer's Hair*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

85. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Group of Six Women, Two Women Dancing and Four Playing Musical Instruments(Taiko, Tsuzumi & Shamisen)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

84 & 85a. Original layout of Plate. 84 and 85.

86. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Fishmongers*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
87. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Fishmongers*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
- 86 & 87a. Original layout of Plate. 86 and 87.
88. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Ryukoji Temple Gate, Katase*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
89. Felice Beato, [*Large Korean Junk and Crew*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
90. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*People on Board Pleasure Barge(Yakata-bune) with House in Background*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
91. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Musicians and Crew of Pleasure Barge(Yakata-bune)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
92. Anonymous photographer, [*Chinese Policemen*], albumen print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
93. Felice Beato, [*Ferryman at the Ford at Sakana-Ne Gawa River*], albumen tinted print, 1866-67. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
94. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Nine People and Rickshaw being Transported by Raft with Village in Background*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
95. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Women Enjoying the Cherry Blossoms From Rickshaws*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
96. Anonymous photographer, [*View of Yokohama Port*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
97. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Four men Posing in Front of Kara-mon Gate in Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
98. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Six People on Two Rafts on a River*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

99. Shuzaburo Usui[?], [*Garden at Manganji in Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
100. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Cargo Boats at Riverside*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
101. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of the Oe Bridge and Yokohama Train Station on Opening Day or on a Visit of the Meiji Emperor Taken from the Ex-Foreign Affairs Office at Ogami-Town*], albumen tinted print, 1872[?]. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
102. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Statue of the Kamakura Buddha*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
103. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Front of Kara-mon Gate in Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1876. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
104. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Precincts*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
105. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Precincts*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
106. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Asakusa ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
107. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of River with Man Standing on the Edge of a Wooden Pier*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
108. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
- 108a. Detail of Plate. 108.
109. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz[?], [*Gate of the Tokugawa Family Cemetery-Yushoin-den*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
110. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Three Women Drinking Sake in a Japanese Garden*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
111. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Six Women, One of Them Dressed as a Man*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
112. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Kabuki Actor*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

113. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Carpenter*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

112 & 113a. Original layout of Plate. 112 and 113.

114. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Man with Tattooed Back with Cloth over His Arm*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

115. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Mail Delivery Man Posing with Delivery Box and Showing His Tattooed Body*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

114 & 115a. Original layout of Plate. 114 and 115.

116. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Woman Standing in Zashiki, Setting*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

117. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Girl Posing with Musical Instrument-Koto*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

118. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Girl Buying Flowers from a Flower Seller in Studio*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

119. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Onna-dayu (Female Street Musician) Playing Shamisen in Studio*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

118 & 119a. Original layout of Plate. 118 and 119.

120. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Geta Cobbler in Studio*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

121. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Semi-nude Woman Holding Sake & Sakazuki*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

122. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Three Women Standing with Interlinked Hands*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

121 & 122a. Original layout of Plate. 121 and 122.

123. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Four Gagaku Dancing (Traditional Shinto Dancers)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

124. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Sahimono-shi (Carpenter) at Work*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
125. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Kanamono-ya (Traveling Tinker) with His Wares*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
126. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Threshing Rice in the Countryside*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
127. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Kagokakis (Sedan Chair Carriers) with a Girl Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
128. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Three Firemen Demonstrating Pump and Hose*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
129. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Group of Firemen Showing Their Uniforms and Equipment*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
130. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Women, One Using an Abacus in Zashiki*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
131. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Asahinabe-dori (Travellers Road) in Kamakura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
132. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Koukyo-Fukiage-Gosho (Royal Families Estate)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
133. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Traveller on the Banks of a River under a Wooden Bridge*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
134. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Six Women in the Garden of Ogiya (Teahouse) in Oji*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
135. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Tsuruoka-hachimangu, Temple in Kamakura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

136. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of the Railway and the Sea at Takashima-cho in Yokohama (from Mt. Takashima)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
137. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Hikigatari (Travelling Musicians, Blind) with Two Momen and Two Kagokaki and Their Male Customer Outside a House*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
138. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Water Fall*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
139. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View Down a Valley*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
140. Anonymous photographer, [*Toshogu Yomeimon Gate (from Inside the Temple) in Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
141. Anonymous photographer, [*Kabuki Theatre, Shintomi-za, at Shintomi-cho, Nippon-bashi, Ginza in Tokyo*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
142. Anonymous photographer, [*Shiba Sojoji Temple in Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
143. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Statue of Buddha at Kamakura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
144. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of a River with Wooden Bridge, House and Travellers*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
145. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shiba Sojoji Temple in Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
146. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Mihashi (Sacred Shinto Bridge) at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
147. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Mt. Fuji from Tago-no-ura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
148. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Miyakara Shore from the Honmaki Shrine Gate*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
149. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View from a Hill with Man in Foreground*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

150. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Mihashi (Sacred Shinto Bridge) at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
151. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of a Rickshaw Entering a Village*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
152. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Benten-sha Temple on Nakajima at Shinobazu Pond, Uyeno in Tokyo*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
153. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Yamate Park in Yokohama ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
154. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Bamboo Scaffolding for Building Construction*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
155. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Group Sitting in Japanese Garden*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
156. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Ogiya (Teahouse) in Oji*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
157. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Toshogu Yomeimon Gate at Nikko Viewed from inside Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
158. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Gate of Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
159. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Memorial to the Tokugawa Family*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
160. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Toshogu Yomeimon Gate at Nikko Viewed from inside Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
161. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Memorial to the Tokugawa Family*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
162. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Five Storeyed Pagoda at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
- 162a. Detail of Plate. 162.
163. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Gate at Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
164. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Dainichi-do and Garden*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

165. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Five Storeyed Pagoda at Nikko ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
166. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Unknown Temple Precincts*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
167. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Hozo-mon Gate and Five Storeyed Pagoda In Sensoji Temple in Asakusa*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
168. Shuzaburo Usui, [*The Kara-mon Gate and Haiden (Inner Temple Building) at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
169. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Mt. Fuji*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
170. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Rinzo (Temple Building), Koro (Large Copper Bell), Yomei-mon Gate and Joshinko (Ceremonial Store) around Ni-no-Torii at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
171. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu Shrine at Kamakura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
172. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Joshinko around Ni-no-Torii at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
173. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Rinzo, Koro, Yomei-mon Gate and Joshinko around Ni-no-Torii at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
174. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shrine Precincts at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
175. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shrine Precincts at Nikko ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
176. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shrine Precincts at Nikko ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
177. Shuzaburo Usui, [*People Embarking on Yakata-bune (Pleasure Barge)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
178. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Maid Working by Well*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

179. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Large Japanese Junk*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
180. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman Sitting on a Chair*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
181. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman Sitting on a Chair*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
182. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman Sitting on Zashiki (Floor or Mattress)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
183. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Young Buddhist Monk*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
184. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Barber with Male Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
185. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman with Japanese Umbrella*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
- 180-185a. Original layout of Plate. 180 - 185.
186. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Three Women Standing with Linked Hands*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
187. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Tow Women Standing with Linked Hands*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
188. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Middle-aged Couple with Stove*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
189. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Elderly Couple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
- 186-189a. Original layout of Plate. 186 - 189.
190. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Girl with Handloom*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
191. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Three Maikos Wearing Fine Clothes*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
192. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Hardware Shop*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

193. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Mounted Soldier in Full Armour on War-Horse with Two Other Figures (Models?) Showing Armour*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

194. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Portrait of Wealthy Woman and Daughter in Zashiki with Koto*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

195. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Girl/Maid Showing Kanzashi (Hair Accessory) to Woman Holding Japanese Umbrella*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

194-195a. Original layout of Plate. 194 - 195.

196. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Kabuki Actor in Warrior Costume*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

197. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Kabuki Actors in Warrior Costume Acting a Guillotine Scene*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

196-197a. Original layout of Plate. 196 - 197.

198. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Women Sleeping in a Japanese Bed*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

199. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Women Chatting to Woman in a Rickshaw*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

200. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*High Class Samurai about to Enter His Sedan Chair*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

201. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Group of Porters*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

202. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Party Scene with Oiran*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

203. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Gagaku (Shinto Dancers)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

204. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Four Men Pulling Daihachiguruma (Cart)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

205. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Men Pulling Rickshaw for Two Women with Umbrella*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
206. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Four Men Drawing Water from Well*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
207. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Doctor and Female Patient*], albumen tinted print, 1867-68. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
208. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Man Pounding Rice for Mochi (Rice Cakes)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
209. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Omikuji (Divination Lottery), Outside Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
210. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Four Men Carrying Mikoshi (Shinto Sacred Palanquin)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
211. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Vegetable Shop*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
212. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Children and Baby-Sitters*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.
213. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Women, One Laying Down*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

Chapter 5. The National Library of Scotland

Gordon Album

214. The front cover of the Gordon Album, Vol. 3: III. / CHINA & JAPAN / A. A. G.
215. The first page of the hand-written index made by Archibald Alexander Gordon.
216. The second page of the hand-written index made by Archibald Alexander Gordon.

217. Anonymous photographer, *Pappenberg Island, Nagasaki, Japan*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
218. Anonymous photographer, *Nagasaki*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
219. Anonymous photographer, *Do [Oura at Nagasaki]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
220. Anonymous photographer, *Kobe (Hiogo)*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
221. Anonymous photographer, *Do [Kobe Harbor]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
222. Anonymous photographer, *Ikusa[Ikuta] Temple, (Shinto) Kobe*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
223. Anonymous photographer, *Osaka*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
224. Anonymous photographer, *Menit[Mint], Osaka*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
225. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Nara (Capital [of Japan] in 7th Century)*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
226. Anonymous photographer, *Bronze Bhudda[Buddha] at Nara*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
227. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Deer (Sacred) at Nara [Kasuga at Nara]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
228. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Great Bronze Bell at Nara*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
229. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Kioto [Kyoto Town from Maruyama]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
230. Anonymous photographer, *Kitano Temple, (Shinto) Kioto*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- 230a. Detail of Plate. 230.
231. Anonymous photographer, *Hon-gwan[gan]-ji Temple, Kioto. (Bhuddist)[Buddhist]*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

232. Anonymous photographer, *Kiyomidsu Bhuddist[Buddhist] Temple, Kyoto*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

233. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Honganji Gate at Kyoto, Japan*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

234. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Yami's Hotel, Kyoto [Yaami Hotel at Maruyama]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

235. Anonymous photographer, *Great Bell at Chionin Temple, (Bhuddist)[Buddhist] Kyoto*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

235a. Detail of Plate. 235.

236. Anonymous photographer, *Satswa[Hodsu]-gawa Rapids near Kyoto [Ochiai-sekimon in Hodsu-gawa]*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

237. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Arashi Yama at Kyoto*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

238. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Honmoku [Tea House at Honmoku Juni-ten]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

239. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Do [Miyahara Beach from Torii-Gate of Honmoku Shrine]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

240. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Fujiyama Mirrored in Kawaguchi Lake*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

241. Anonymous photographer, *Scene of Japanese Garden*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

242. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Minitogawa [Minatogawa with Mt. Fuji]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

243. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Tomioka*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

244. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Ima Ichi Road to Nikko [Ima Ichi Road to Nikko with an Avenue of Cedar Trees]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

244a. Detail of Plate. 244.

245. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Road to Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

246. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Sacred Bridge at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
247. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Gaman River at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- 247a. Detail of Plate. 247.
248. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Garden at Manganji, Nikkou[Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
249. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Dainichido Gardens at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
250. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Yomeimon Gate of Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
251. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Do [Yomeimon Gate of Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
252. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Niwomon gate of Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
253. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shiba at Tokio [The Gate of the Tokugawa Family Cemetery-Yushoin-den]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
254. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Manganji at Nikko [Main Hall of Manganji, Sanbutsudo]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
255. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Nikko [The Road to the Nioumon Gate of Daikenin]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
256. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Karamon at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
257. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shiba at Nikko [The Gate of the Tokugawa Family Cemetery-Yushoin-den]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
258. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Urami Falls at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- 258a. Detail of Plate. 258.
259. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Asakusa at Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

260. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shiba at Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
261. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Wisteria in Japan [Wisteria at Kamedo Tenjin]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
262. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Wadagura at Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
263. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Tea-house at Uyeno, Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
264. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Harbour at Yokohama [Yokohama from the Motomachi 100 Steps]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
265. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Grand Hotel at Do. [Yokohama Grand Hotel]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
266. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Yokohama [Yokohama Train Station and Benten Bridge]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
267. Kozaburo Tamamura, *The 101 Steps at Yokohama*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
268. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Benten Dori, Yokohama*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
269. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shinto Gate, Kokohama[Yokohama] [Blue Copper Gate at Entrance to Yeno Island]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
270. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Kamakura Temple [Kamakura Temple with Hidden Gingko Tree]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
271. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Daibutsu at Kamakura*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
272. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Girl Dressing*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
273. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Sedan-Chair or Kago [Two kagokaki-Carring Men with Woman Customer]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
274. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Room with Beds [Two Women Reading and Preparing Tobacco on a Futon (Japanese Bed)]*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

275. Felice Beato, *Japanese Mother & Child*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
276. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Girl in Good Costume [Best Clothes]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
277. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Music - Girls [Girls Playing Koto and Shamisen]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
278. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Dancing - Girls*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
279. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Girl*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
280. Anonymous photographer, *Karuma [Kuruma] or Jinrickshaw [Rickshaw with Woman Customer]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
281. Anonymous photographer, *Two Japanese Beggars [Actually Pilgrims, Mother and Child]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
282. Anonymous photographer, *Rickshaw Puller Tatooed [Tattooed Man]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
283. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Bhuddist [Buddhist] Priest*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Isabella Bird Album

284. Isabella Bird, *John Bishop Orphanage. Tokyo*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
285. Isabella Bird, *Gifu Orphans [John Bishop Orphanage. Tokyo]*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
286. Isabella Bird, *Tsushima [Itsukushima?] Temples*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
287. Isabella Bird, *Tsushima [Itsukushima?] Village*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
288. Isabella Bird, *A Japanese Garden*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
289. Isabella Bird, *Tea House Servant*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

290. Isabella Bird, *On Chuzenji Lake*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
291. Isabella Bird, *A Japanese Inn*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
292. Isabella Bird, *Stone Lanterns. Chuzenji*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
293. Isabella Bird, *Red Bridge. Nikko*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
294. Isabella Bird, *Chuzenji Lake from Tozawa*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Chapter 6. The Scottish National Portrait Gallery

295. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Portrait of a Woman]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
296. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Portrait of Oiran in Zashiki]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
297. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz[?], *[Portrait of Sitting Woman with Fan]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
298. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Samurai in Rainy Day Costume, Kasa(Umbrella), Mino (Straw Rain Cape) and Geta (High Soled Sandals)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
299. Anonymous photographer, *[Tattooed Man]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
300. Shozaburo Kuwada, *The Dochu of Tayu, Kyoto*, albumen tinted print, 1877-1890s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
301. Hikoma Uyeno, *[Studio Portrait of a Western Man]*, *carte de visite*, c1860s-90s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
- 301a. Standard reverse of Plate.301.
302. Tokoku Shimizu, *[Studio Portrait of a Western Man and Two Japanese Men]*, *carte de visite*, 1868-72. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
- 302a. Standard reverse of Plate. 302.
303. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Studio Portrait of a Western Man]*, *carte de visite*, 1876-79. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

303a. Standard reverse of Plate. 303.

304. Shinichi Suzuki, [*Studio Portrait of a Western Man*], *carte de visite*, 1884-92. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

304a. Standard reverse of Plate. 304.

INTRODUCTION

The collections in this dissertation will be examined by the chronological order of their images. Collections which include photographs of the 'Yokohama Print' type will be investigated from the point of view of when the collection was made, rather than the date of the individual photographs. The details of Yokohama Prints will be studied in Section I. This is because most of the collections which I have studied contain Yokohama Prints.

Investigating the background of the Yokohama prints will aid understanding of the chapters which follow. After Chapters 1 and 2, which deal with the social context of photography in Japan, each collection will be examined in chapters which follow a basic chronological order, though there are some cases in which several kinds of collections are held in one institution.

The History of Early Japanese Photography

An introduction to the history of early Japanese photography provides a starting-point to understand the general context of the collections, and this research.¹

The first record of the arrival of a 'Camera Obscura' in Japan is in the diary of the director of a Dutch trading-company in 1646. This strange object was translated into Japanese as '*Shashinkyo*' - 'Truthful Copying Mirror'. As in Europe, the '*Shashinkyo*' was used mainly as an aid in drawing and for a long time the term '*Shashinkyo*' was associated with painting, not photography.

¹ Information sources are: *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, ed. Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography and Hakodate Museum of Art (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Foundation for History and Culture, Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997), *Nihon Shashinka-kyokai. Nihon Shashinshi 1840-1945* (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd, 1971), and Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan, ed., *Saishiki Arubamu Meiji no Nihon: (Yokohama Shashin) no Sekai* (Coloured Album Japan in Meiji the World of Yokohama Print) (Yokohama: Yurindo Ltd., 1990).

It is well known that Japan had been closed to the outside world by *Sakoku* - 'National Seclusion', for about 220 years (1639-1853), but one island, Dejima, had been opened to do trading business with the Netherlands and Portugal.

The first daguerreotype camera was brought into Japan on a Dutch ship in 1843, though it was taken back to Holland with the ship without being purchased. This was only four years after Louis-Jacques Mande Daguerre's invention of the Daguerreotype was announced in Paris.

The first record of a camera actually being purchased comes in 1848; the importer was Shunnojo Uyeno, a successful merchant in Nagasaki.

The astonishment, the 'shock', with which Japanese people, so isolated from western science and technology, regarded the camera and photography in general is beyond imagination. However, their curiosity did not stop at just looking at the camera and watching western people taking photographs. As soon as the mysterious material appeared, Japanese curiosity turned to how it worked, its uses and its construction.

Photography spread in Japan in the same way it had in Europe. The first people to show their interest and to understand the mechanisms of photography were artists, chemists and natural philosophers. In the case of Japan we cannot ignore the influence of Japanese Dutch scholars who had a knowledge of Western culture and science. In the beginning, contact with the camera and with foreigners was limited. The effect of this was that the Japanese took longer to adapt photography to their own needs.

However, the wave of people eager to master photography gradually and steadily spread over Japan. The Japanese clans, the chiefs of which were keen on *rangaku* - 'Dutch learning', set up their own laboratories for photography. The *Satsuma* clan, located in Kagoshima prefecture, the Mito, the Fukuoka and the *Matumae* clans, located in Kanazawa prefecture are examples of these. The head of the *Satsuma* clan, Nariakira Shimazu, is

particularly important. Not only did he purchase that first daguerreotype camera from Shunnojo Uyeno, he conducted photographic experiments in Kagoshima and in the capital, *Edo* (now Tokyo). Furthermore, the first successful Japanese daguerreotype photograph was the portrait of Nariakira Shimazu by Shiro Ichiki and Ujuku Hikonemon, who were the young scholars of the *Satsuma* clan, taken on 17 September 1857. It is said that Nariakira Shimazu also enjoyed taking photographs himself, of retainers and his family.

At the same time as those experiments, more cameras and information about photographic techniques were introduced to Japan through the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate, and Shimoda.² The first daguerreotype photographs of Japanese people were taken by Eliphalet Brown, Jr. (1816-1886). He was the official photographer of the first American mission, lead by Commodore Matthew Perry's squadron of U.S. Navy ships, which came to Japan in 1854. He brought back more than two hundred daguerreotypes from Japan. In the same year, the daguerreotype portrait of Momo Osho, a monk at the Kyokusenji temple at Shimoda, was taken by Lieutenant A. F. Mozhaitskii of the Russian ship '*Diana*' which came to Shimoda under Admiral E. V. Putiantin. This image still survives at the Kyokusenji temple in Japan.

New photographic processes were being developed in Europe. The calotype, invented by William Henry Fox Talbot, was announced in 1841 and the wet-collodion process, invented by Frederick Scott Archer, was announced in 1851.

The wet-collodion process was introduced to Japan through Pompe van Meerdervoort, a Dutch medical officer to the naval training facility at

² As has been mentioned, Nagasaki, on Dejima island, was the first place where people could get access to western culture. Three ports, Nagasaki, Shimoda and Hakodate were opened to foreign countries in 1854 following the treaty with Russia, France, Britain, America and Holland. Hakodate is a port located in northern Japan, and from such a location, had an advantage for contact with Russia from an early period.

Nagasaki, in 1857. However, the wet plate process was not successful because Pompe was a layman in photography. It is believed that Maeda Genzo, a member of the Fukuoka clan, finally learnt about the wet plate process through a French professional photographer, Roche, in 1859.

It is interesting that there are no records that the calotype process was ever introduced or examined in Japan. In other words, Japan jumped from the daguerreotype to the wet-collodion process, missing out experiments with the calotype completely. Moreover, when the wet-collodion process was introduced to Japan, the daguerreotype process had still not been fully successful. Therefore, unlike Europe, the processes of daguerreotype and wet-collodion photography were being studied at the same time in Japan.

The turning point in Japanese photography is described by Fuminori Yokoe as: "with the opening of the ports, professional photographers who could use the wet-collodion process began visiting Japan, and studies of photography moved from experimentation to receiving technical training."³

About one hundred and thirty Japanese photographers were recorded in Japan by 1880.⁴ They were not only Dutch scholars such as chemists and scientists or artists but also general people who were ambitious to achieve success in the photography business and who had started to learn the technique of photography from foreign photographers or from Japanese photographers who already mastered the technique. There was also a lot of individual experimentation. The rewards were large amounts of money and popular status. Reiji Ezaki, Tokujiro Kameya, Kinbei Kusakabe, Shinichi Ogawa and Sanji Tamagawa can be given as representative Japanese early photographers among those people. The boom of photography and the great success of photographers in Japan will be seen from the fact that the names of

³ Fuminori Yokoe, "Part. 2. The Arrival of Photography," in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, 167.

⁴ *Nihon Shashinka-kyokai*, 373.

many photographers appeared on the list of 'the most famous and popular people No.5' or 'the richest people No. 7' etc.

People and Photographs

As an end to this introduction, the reaction of the general Japanese people who were not in favour of photography should be mentioned. Even though many photographers started in business, it is said that people were fearful of being photographed at first even though anti-Western feeling was gradually fading.

Many superstitious stories regarding photography were spread in Japan by those who could not understand the mechanism of the camera and the photograph, in other words, why can exactly the same image be transferred magically on to glass or paper without drawing? People said, for example, 'Photography is the technique of Christianity.', 'It sucks human blood.', 'Once the person has been taken, his shadow becomes faded. Taken twice, his life is made shorter.' or 'When three people are photographed, the centre one will die.' etc. In fact, some photo studios prepared a doll to be held in the middle of three sitters to appease this particular superstition.

However, gradually these fears declined and such stories were not generally believed by 1890s. Two main reasons can be given. One is the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Many soldiers, from rich and from not so wealthy families, as well as people who came from urban and rural areas, had photographs taken as mementoes. Another reason is that the portraits of many famous people - such as politicians, actresses and pleasure courtesans were spread into the life of general people.⁵ Photographs became more familiar and more desirable.

⁵ Ibid., 370-371.

When looking at the early history of Japanese photography, the swiftness of the Japanese absorption of photography cannot be ignored. The appetite of the Japanese people for new things was prompted by more than two hundred years of isolation from the outside world. On the other hand, although they had been isolated, Japanese people had enough adaptability, character and curiosity to face new science at that time.

SECTION I

YOKOHAMA PRINTS

YOKOHAMA PRINTS

Before talking about individual collections, I would like to introduce the so called 'Yokohama Prints', because most of the collections which I researched include photographs of this type.

As a general definition, Yokohama Prints can be described as albumen prints or lantern slides of Japanese images such as landscapes, famous sightseeing spots, and the life of Japanese people. Most of the images are hand tinted. Yokohama Prints were produced as souvenirs of Japan for Japanese people as well as for foreigners, mainly between the 1860s and 1920s. However, for a long time only foreigners bought the prints which were too expensive for Japanese people to buy. The main productive period was between 1870 and 1900. The photographs were usually mounted on cardboard and bound in albums with beautiful Japanese lacquer covers or kept in fine Japanese lacquer boxes. The combination of these traditional fine Japanese crafts with beautiful and exotic images of Japan created very popular souvenirs. The photographs were called Yokohama Prints because the photo studios were mainly located in Yokohama city - one of the earliest ports opened for foreign trading, and I will use the term Yokohama Prints to describe images of the above type in this dissertation.

The most important role of the Yokohama Prints was that it was the best way for foreigners to see scenes of Japan and its unknown interior. In the 1890s, the foreigner who visited Japan was allowed to tour only in the residential areas for foreigners in the ports and within a twenty-four mile radius of the area permitted by the 'Ansei commercial treaties'(1858).⁶ Only foreigners who visited Japan for the purposes of conducting business,

⁶ Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, ed., *Saishiki Arubamu Meiji no Nihon: (Yokohama Shashin) no Sekai* (Coloured Album Japan in Meiji the World of Yokohama Print) (Yokohama: Yurindo Ltd., 1990), VI.

Figure. 1. Chart; Major subject categories in the Yokohama Prints.

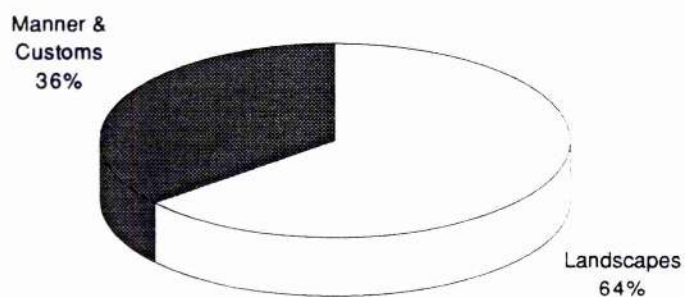
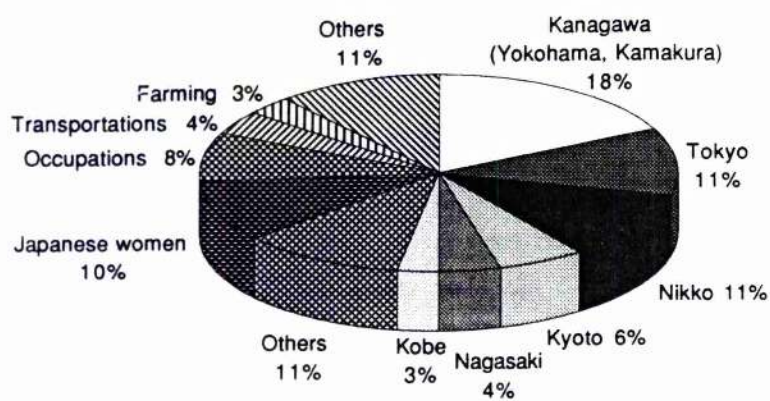


Figure. 2. Chart; Detailed subject categories in the Yokohama Prints.



teaching western technology, mission work or academic research could go outside the limited area.⁷ Although foreign people could visit the major tourist places such as Nikko, Kamakura and Asakusa, and images of these places are included in Yokohama print, foreigners depended on Yokohama Prints as visual souvenirs of Japan. Though they could take photographs by themselves, the beautifully tinted, large form of the Yokohama Prints with their Japanese lacquer containers were the perfect souvenir for them.

The Subjects of 'Yokohama Prints'

Yokohama Prints depict several types and subjects of images. These can be categorised in two major subjects, landscapes and manners and customs. Fig. 1 shows the proportion of the two main subjects of Yokohama Prints.⁸ Landscapes, the subject of more than 60% of the Yokohama Prints, are a more popular subject than manners and customs. Views of Japan would be the best momento of where they visited and the best to show what kind of country Japan was to their family and friends. A breakdown of subjects of Fig. 1 is shown in the Fig. 2.

Landscapes consist of beautiful Japanese views, typically such as that of Mt. Fuji (see Plates. 147, 240, 242), scenes of large cities such as Tokyo (Plate. 141), Yokohama (Plates. 264, 265) and Nagasaki (Plate. 218), or places of historic interest such as temples, shrines and statues (Plates. 143, 159, 160).

⁷ Margarita Winkle, *Souvenirs from Japan*, with a preface by Prof. Willem R. van Gulik. (London: Bamboo Publishing Ltd, 1991), 19.

⁸ Although there is no clear statistical information about the Yokohama Prints, the Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan which can be translated as 'The Opening of Yokohama Port Material Centre', shows data from their large collection. The centre holds one of the largest collections of Yokohama Prints in the world.

The centre holds in total 3,000 images in forty albums, consisting of 2,000 prints, and fifteen boxes of lantern slides. This enormous collection gives a good overview of the range of material produced in the Yokohama style.

The date used from : Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, VII.

Contents of the second category include images of tradesmen or shops; such as the Japanese palanquin - '*kago*' and the palanquin carriers- *kago-kaki*, or rickshaws with operators - *jinrikisha* (which might be independent from the general category of occupation because it was treated as a characteristic subject of Japan more than a job), see Plates. 127, 205, 273, 280. It is mentioned that as a way of photographing street shopkeepers: they were "often picked off the street and brought to the studio"⁹ (Plates. 80, 86, 118). Taking photographs in the studio was much easier because photographers did not have to take their big cameras and other equipment outside and could get stable conditions for taking photographs. Even though the images are taken in studio, the images show the atmosphere of ordinary street life in Japan at that time. Views of farming (Plate. 126), aspects of daily life such as bathing, eating, sleeping and entertainment, and photographs of Japanese women were produced as an introduction to Japanese life.¹⁰ Most scenes of 'customs and manners' were very curious and interesting to foreign people, because Japanese customs and manners were very different from European culture. As we can see in the images, everything that Europeans saw was surprising to them, even basic culture such as hairstyles (Plates. 46, 84), clothes (Plates. 61, 72, 82), manners of eating (Plates. 52, 79), sleeping (Plates. 198, 274) and sitting (Plate. 55).

Photographs of customs and manners often used models and were taken in a studio-setting, indoor or outside and posed and natural. A few reasons can be suggested for this manner of taking these photographs in a studio under the direction of the photographer. Firstly, photographs were produced by the wet-collodion process which needed several minutes for exposure, depending on conditions such as the light. People had to pose for a long time without moving and photographers could only get stable

⁹ Rainer Fabian and Hans-Christian Adam, with introduction by Sam Wagstaff, *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1983), 114.

¹⁰ See also Fig. 2.

conditions indoors. Also developing the prints was also difficult. The plate had to be wet even when taking photographs outside and developing. Therefore, the photographer needed to bring with him all his equipment, including a dark room tent. Even after the advent of the dry-plate process with its shorter exposure times, the demand of foreigners was for images which were unspoiled by western culture. As soon as the ports opened to foreign trade, western culture was adapted in Japan, such as western hairstyles (Plate 45), clothes and buildings. However, foreigners expected to see traditional Japanese styles, not a westernised Japan. Japanese life had to be exotic and mysterious. To make such ideal images for foreigners, it was easier to set a scene for a photograph rather than to use real life.

The other angle of the subject to which attention should be paid is the ethnological aspect of the Yokohama Prints. For example, the kinds of occupations and people who were photographed range from the Emperor (Plate 45), to monks (Plate. 183), pilgrims (Plates. 62, 281), shop keepers (Plates. 78, 192), servants (Plate. 79), courtesans (Plate. 50), maids (Plate. 178), farmers (Plate. 126), children (Plate. 212), and minority races (Plates. 63, 65). Photographs of these groups of people and their daily lives were not often seen even in western photography at this time. The photographers did not take such varied people from the aspect of social issues, as can be seen in Europe in series such as of Newhaven by Hill and Adamson and London's Street People by John Thompson. The concept of 'Life of Japan' had included naturally all kinds of people in the eyes of photographers in Japan and Japanese people without thinking of social issues. To Western people, especially the typical middle class people who could travel to Japan, the photographed images of such various kind of people were probably extremely interesting.

Relationship with Woodcut Prints

The influence of traditional Japanese woodcut prints - *ukiyo-e* - on Yokohama Prints is an interesting and important point. The issue will be analysed from two angles; the *ukiyo-e* culture's influence on tinting prints and the images and composition of Yokohama Prints.

Tinted Prints

Most Yokohama Prints are beautifully hand tinted. Although the technique of hand tinting was introduced to Japan from Europe, in Europe it never became popular. European photographers and critics alike considered tinted photographs to be utterly tasteless and kitsch, if not downright dishonest. On the other hand, to the Japanese, the tinted photograph echoed the familiar and popular tinted *ukiyo-e*.

The history of *ukiyo-e* of full-colour printing dates back to 1765. Prints from these years show blue and yellow added to the basic pink and green palette. These were accepted as an original and perfect souvenir for the Japanese tourist.¹¹ When tinted photographs appeared in the early 1860s, Japanese people had already been familiar with the tinting of black and white prints for a century. Considering the relations between *ukiyo-e* and photographs as souvenirs, it can be said that the function of *ukiyo-e* was taken over by photography, and it can be understood that Japanese people expected a full-colour image in souvenir photographs too.

There is no clear answer as to who started tinting black and white prints first. However, it is generally believed to have been one of two photo studios: that of the earliest Japanese photographer, Renjo Shimooka (1823-

¹¹ *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan* vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kodansh Ltd, 1993), 140.



Figure. 3. Image of tinting photographs.
From Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, ed.
Sai Shoku Arubamu Meiji No Nihhon Yokohama
Shashin) No Sekai (Coloured Album Japan in Meiji
the World of Yokohama Print), 172.

1914), who opened his studio in 1862 at Yokohama; or that of Felice Beato (1825-c1904) who opened his studio, 'Beato & Wirgman', c1863 in Yokohama with the painter Charles Wirgman, and who had started colouring prints by 1865.¹²

The photograph was coloured by painting the print with ink applied with a Japanese brush when the print was still damp. (see Fig. 3) The ink was as used in Japanese traditional painting as well as in wood cut prints. Japanese water colour ink was well fitted to this kind of painting, though an oil colouring for photographs was developed in western countries.¹³ It is because the water-colour ink could enhance the images of Japanese scenery as effectively as possible.

Fine hand tinted photographs could not be produced without skilful colourists. Margarita Winkel suggested that there is a strong connection with *ukiyo-e* and the well-trained artisans who were engaged in tinting the prints. She also proposes that when a drop in sales of *ukiyo-e* caused them to lose their jobs, the booming photographic industry presented a new employment opportunity.¹⁴ According to Terry Bennett, author of *Early Japanese Images*, not all colourists came from the field of *ukiyo-e*. As demand for tinted photographs increased, not only professional painters but also women and even children worked as part-time colourists. The prints which were still painted by the most skilful artisans would be more expensive than other rough coloured prints. The price of prints reflected not only the size of the prints but also the quality of tinting.

A. Farsari & Co., one of the largest photo studios producing Yokohama Prints in the late period of 1885-1900, had thirty three employees in 1891. The staff consisted of nineteen painters and five photographers.¹⁵ This shows us

¹² The opinion that Beato is the person who first adapted colouring on prints is the more common.

¹³ Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, VI.

¹⁴ Winkel, 31.

¹⁵ Yokohama Kaiko Shashinkan, 230.

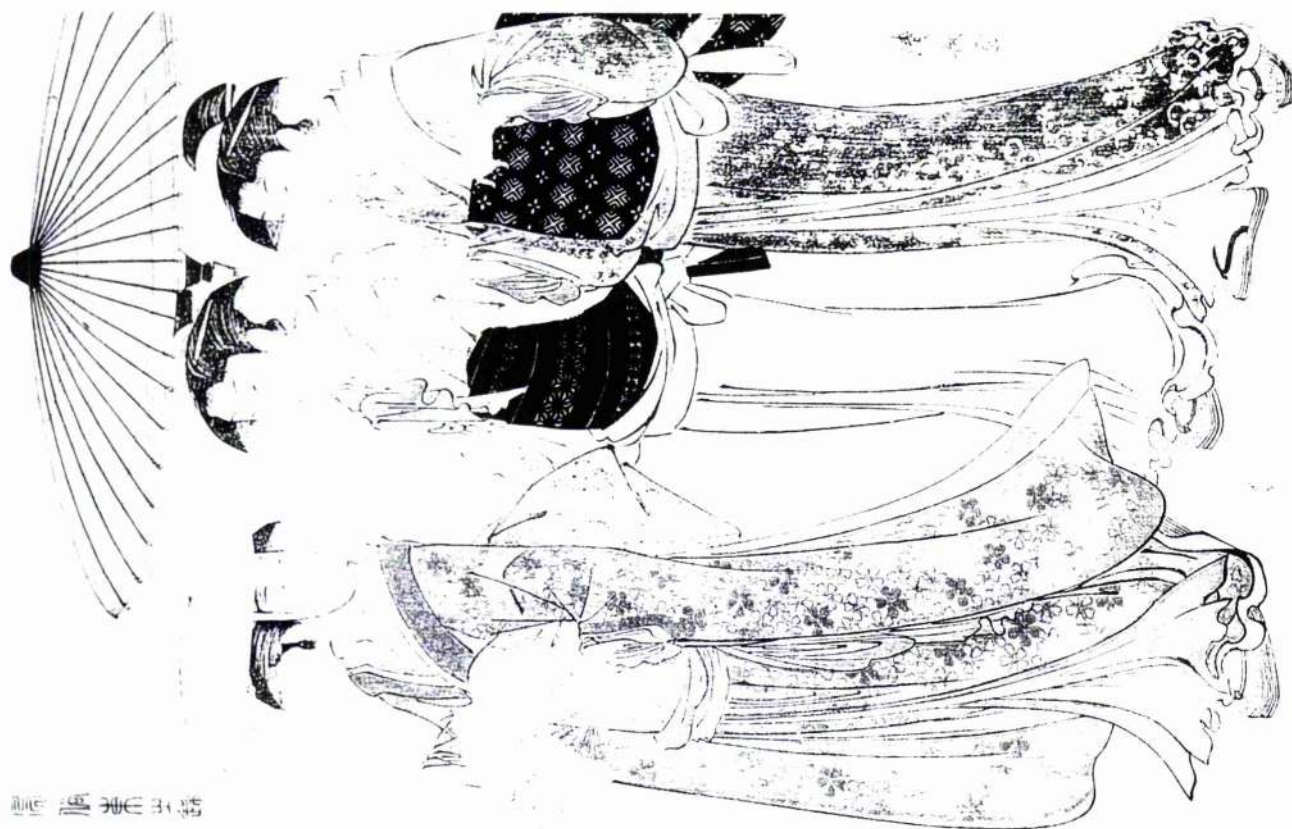


Figure 5. Woodcut Print;
Torii Kiyonaga, *A Lady with
Two Servants*, 1783.
From Hiller.



Figure 4. Woodcut Print; Yeishi
(unsigned), *A Comparison of Selected
Green House Beauties. The Oiran
Takigawa of Ogi-ya Dressed to Receive
a New Guest*, c1794. From Laurence
Binyon and J. J. O'Brien Sexton,
Japanese Colour Prints edited by
Basil Gray (London, 1960).

that hand tinting needed time and a large work force to supply customers' demand.

Image and Composition

Redundant workers from the *ukiyo-e* business did not just move into colouring prints - some became photographers themselves.

The form of *ukiyo-e* had been familiar to most Japanese people. Therefore, not only the photographers who had originally worked in the field of *ukiyo-e* but anyone with a Japanese background had been influenced by the woodcut prints. The strong connection of the woodcut print with Yokohama Prints can be recognised in its composition as well as its colouring.

Image

It has already been mentioned that one of the unusual characteristics of Yokohama Prints is the range of subjects of people from upper and lower classes, men and women, old people, children and families. Taking photographs of this type and buying these images was accepted, and moreover, was popular in Japan. It will be suggested that this is nothing less than the result of culture of *ukiyo-e*.

Ukiyo-e, means literally 'picture of the floating world' where the pursuit of pleasure and free-wheeling life of the entertainment districts was illustrated with prints as well as painting in the early period.¹⁶ If we compare the images of *ukiyo-e* and Yokohama Prints, the influences of *ukiyo-e* are clear. For example, the subjects of pleasure quarters and courtesans (Fig. 4) is seen in Plates. 50 and 285. The image of women with Japanese umbrellas in Fig. 5 is a popular image in the Yokohama Prints (Plates. 59, 185, 191, 151, 205, 280).

¹⁶ "The *ukiyo-e* flourished throughout Japan, attaining its most characteristic form of expression in the woodcut prints produced in *Edo* (now Tokyo) from about 1680 through the 1850s." (from *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, 138)



Figure 6. Woodcut Print; Utamaro Kitagawa, *The Hairdresser, from Twelve Tasks Performed by Women*. From Ichitaro Kondo, *Kitagawa Utamaro* (Tokyo, 1957).

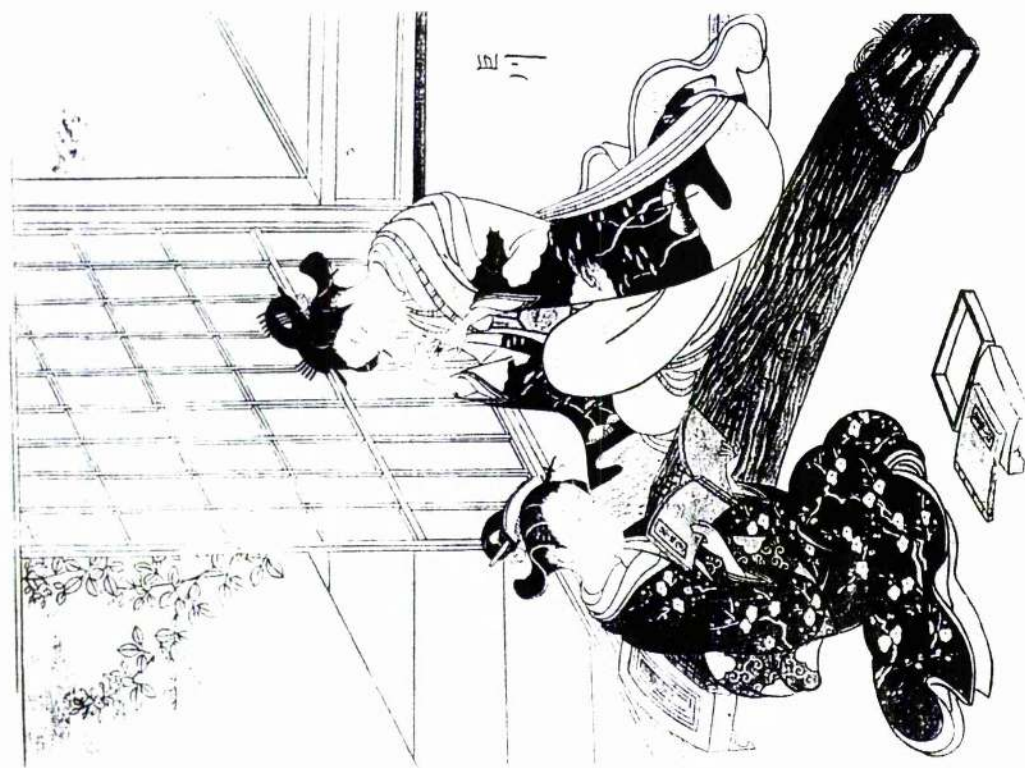


Figure 7. Woodcut Print; Okumura Masanobu: *Actors as the Ill-starred Lovers*. From J. Hillier. *Japanese Colour Prints* (London, 1975).

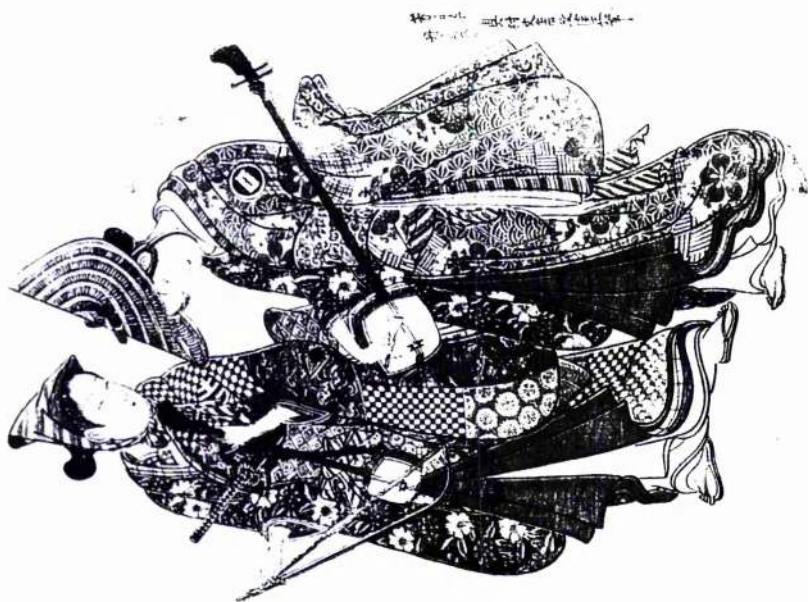


Figure. 8. Woodcut Print; Kyosen, c1765.
From *Harunobu*. (1940).

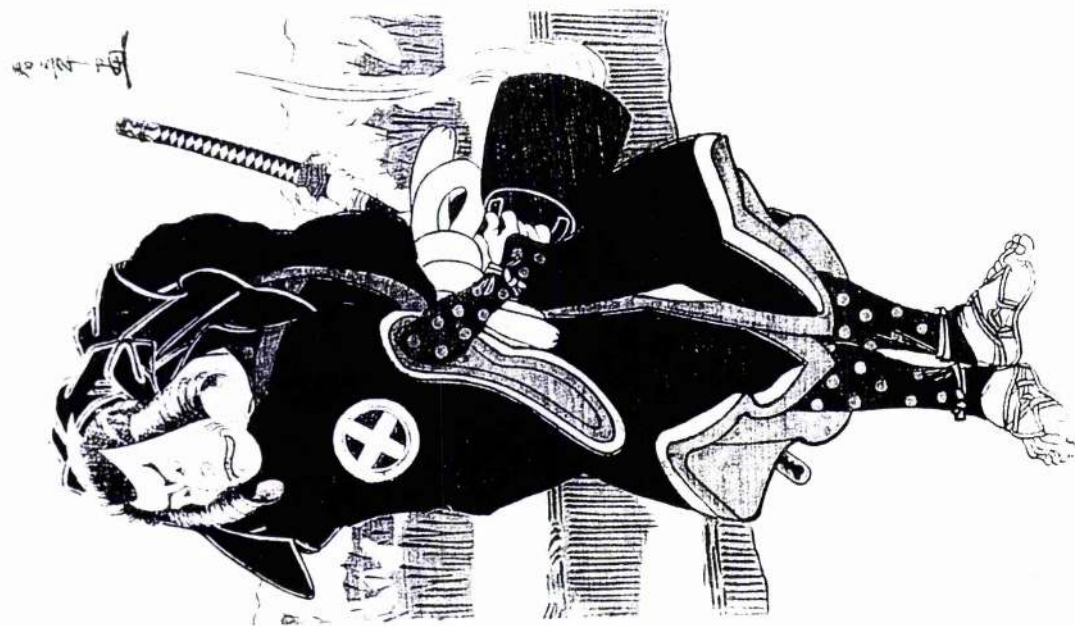


Figure. 9. Woodcut Print;
Katsukawa Shunsho,
*The Actor Otani Hiroemon IV
as a Highwayman in a Play
Performed*, 1977. From Hiller.

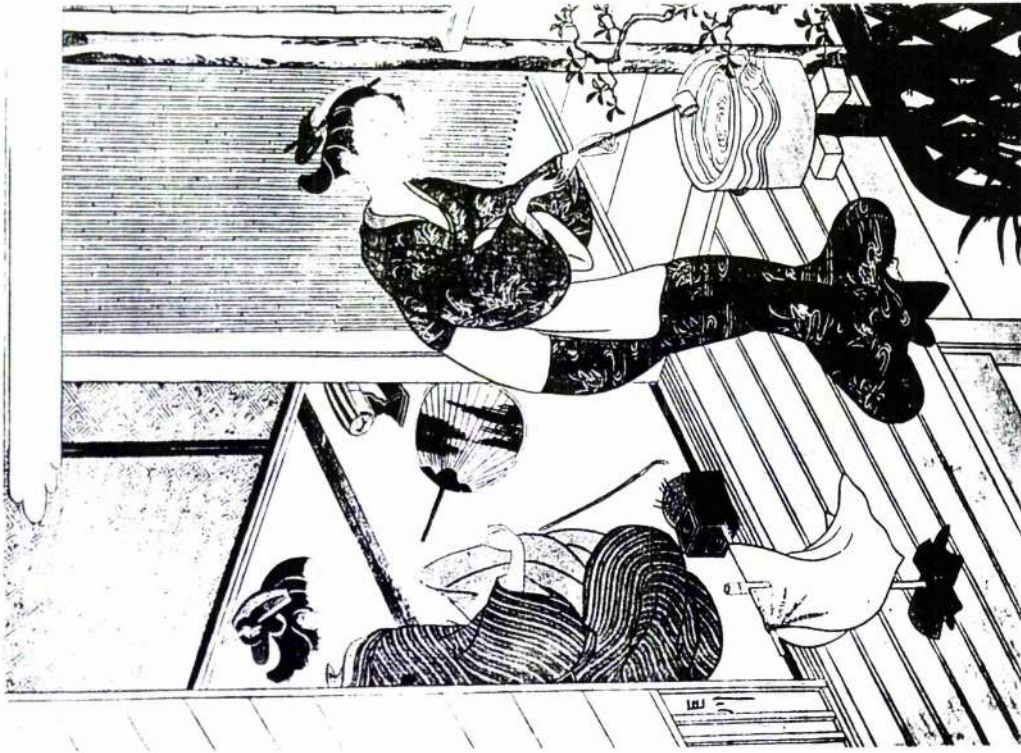


Figure. 11. Woodcut Print; Kyosen, c1765.
From *Harunobu*.(1940).

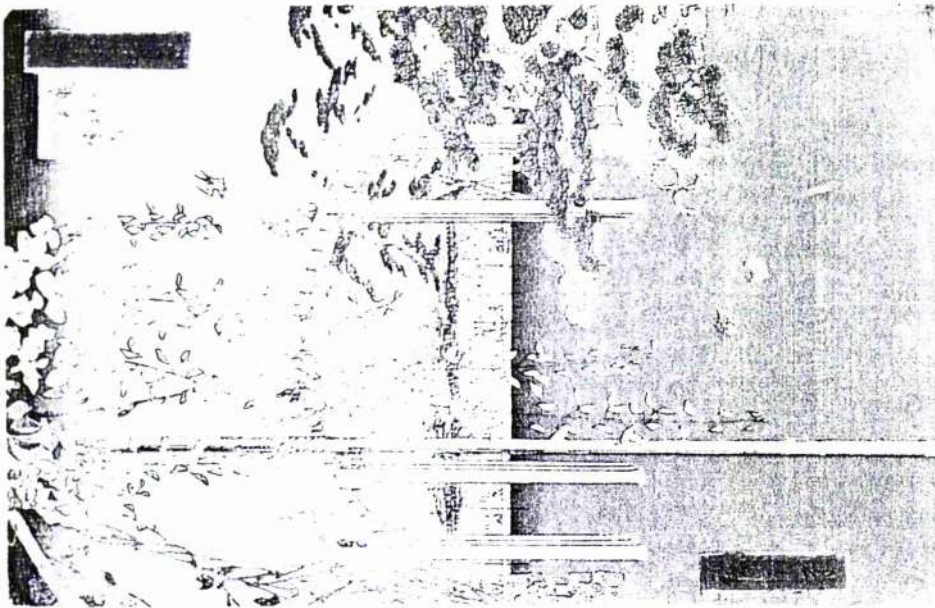


Figure. 10. Woodcut Print; Hiroshige:
Wisteria Blossoms over Water at Kameido
from *One Hundred Views of Edo*, c.1857.
From Frank Whitford, *Japanese Prints and Western Painters* (London, 1977), 183.

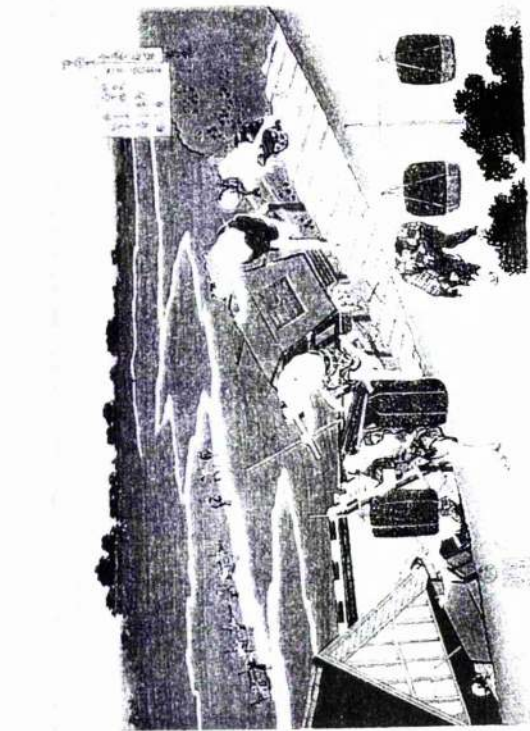


Figure 12. Woodcut Print; Hokusai, *Fujiwara no Michinobu Ason, In Hyakunin Isshu, Uba-ga-etoki (The Hundred Poems by the Hundred Poets Explained by the Nurse)*. From Forrer Matthi, *Hokusai Prints and Drawings* (London, 1991).

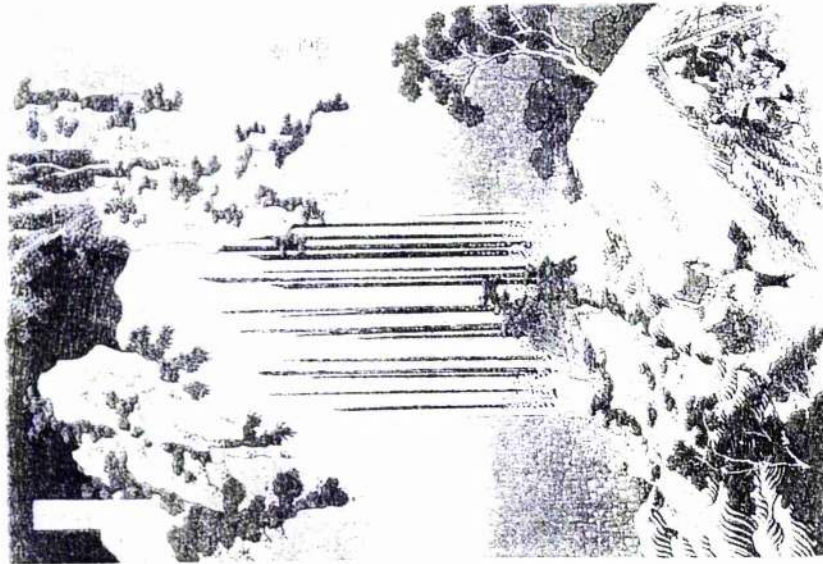


Figure 13. Woodcut Print; Hokusai, *Mino -no-Kuni, Yoro-no-taki, In Shokoku Taki-Meguri (A Journey to the Waterfalls of All the Provinces)*. 1831-32. From Forrer Matthi, *Hokusai Prints and Drawings* (London, 1991).

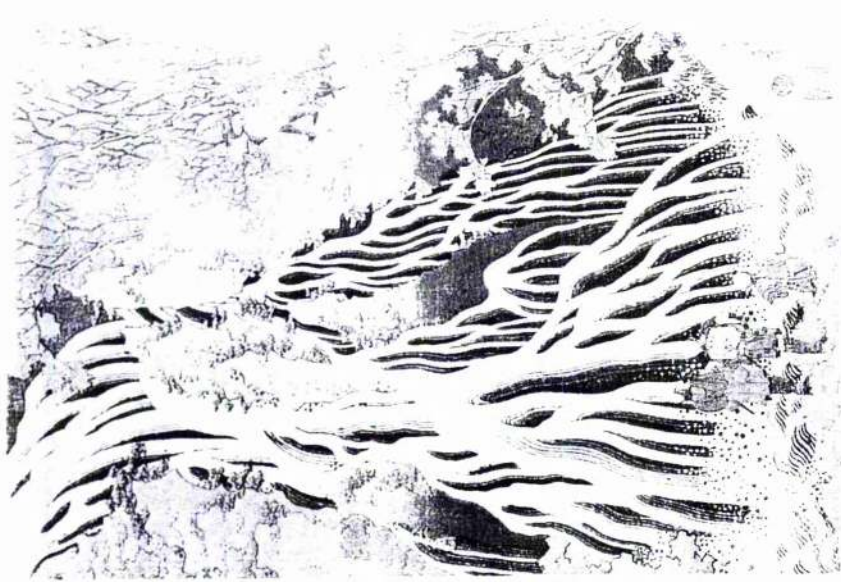


Figure 14. Woodcut Print; Hokusai, *Shimotsuke Kurokami-yama, Kirifuri-no-taki, In Shokoku Taki-Meguri (A Journey to the Waterfalls of All the Provinces)*. 1831-32. From Forrer Matthi, *Hokusai Prints and Drawings* (London, 1991).

Hairdressing is also a favourite subject in both *ukiyo-e* and Yokohama Prints (Fig. 6 and Plates. 84, 184, 272). Figs. 7 and 8 show musical instruments. These subjects are also seen Plates. 53, 117, 119, 194 and 277. Scenes of *kabuki* theatre and actors are also common to both (Fig. 9 and Plates. 112, 196, 197). In the eighteenth century, the topics of landscape, especially the famous and popular sightseeing spots, were illustrated (Fig. 10 and Plate. 261). Scenes of everyday life and travel were adapted and became popular in *ukiyo-e* such as Figs. 11, 12, and are echoed in Plates. 83, 144, 213. Even comparing with the limited number of Yokohama Prints available today many such similarities can be found.¹⁷

Landscape was to become a typical image of *ukiyo-e*, although rather late in its period. Its great contributor was Hokusai (1760-1849) and his most famous masterpieces, *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, which appeared in 1823. His powerful and dynamic landscapes captured the imagination of the Japanese people. That Mt. Fuji, the symbol of Japan and its beauty, was used as the main subject of the series was another reason why the series was accepted so widely. Mt. Fuji was also used as a popular subject in Yokohama Prints, as has already been seen. Hiroshige Ando (1797-1858) also created landscapes in his own way, with great detail and sophistication, illustrating subjects such as rain, snow and wind. His outstanding works are the series of *Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido* ¹⁸ in 1834.

Through the contributions of Hokusai and Hiroshige, by 1830 landscapes were more popular with most Japanese people than the images of social life or *kabuki* theatre.

¹⁷ In this thesis, the references of Yokohama Prints come from the collections in Scotland which I researched. However, many other various images were produced in Yokohama Prints.

¹⁸ The fifty-three stations were located on the great highway between the new and old capitals, *Edo* and *Kyoto*.

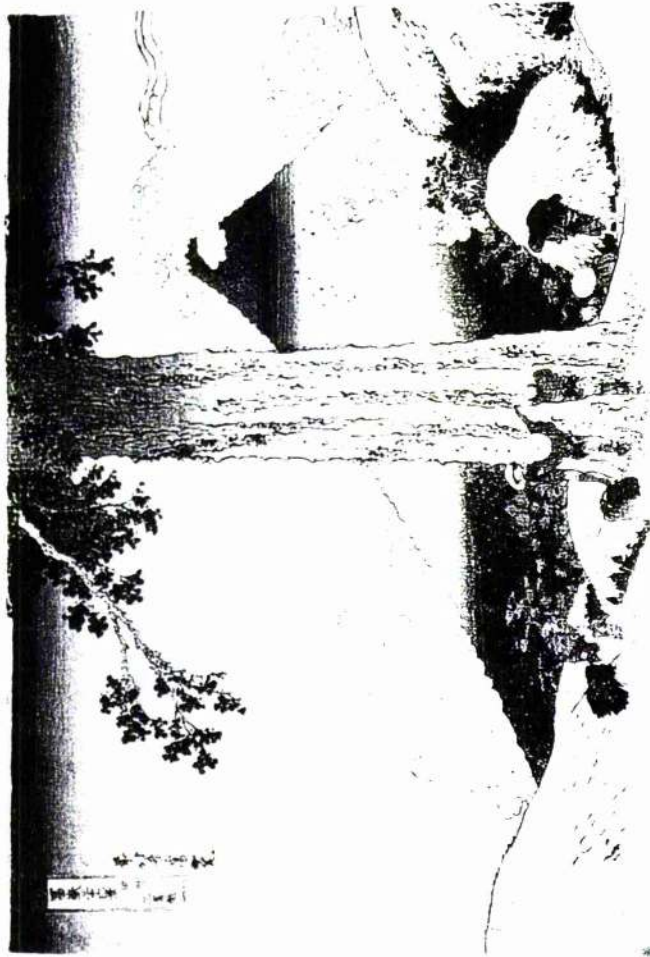


Figure. 15. Woodcut Print; Hokusai, *Koshu Mishima-goe* (Mishima Pass in Kai Province), In *Fugaku Sanju-Rokkei* (The Thirty Six Views of Mt. Fuji). 1829-33. From Hokusai (London, 1989) .



Figure. 17. Woodcut Print; Hokusai, *Tokaido Hodogaya* (Hodogaya on the Tokaido) In *Fugaku Sanju-Rokkei* (The Thirty Six Views of Mt. Fuji). 1829-33. From Hokusai (London, 1989).



Figure. 16. Woodcut Print; Hokusai, In *Hyakunin Isshu, Uba-ga-etoki* (The Hundred Poems by the Hundred Poets Explained by the Nurse). From Forrer Matthi, *Hokusai Prints and Drawings* (London, 1991).

Composition

Some similarity of composition can be identified in both *ukiyo-e* and Yokohama Prints.

The use of human figures in a wider space for contrast or to emphasise the size of the main subject is one example. This can be seen in Figs. 13, 14 and 15. A human figure standing in front of a waterfall emphasises the scale of the waterfall. The tiny figures in Fig. 15 laugh as they try to encircle a massive pine tree with their linked arms. But they, and the tree are dwarfed by cloud-wreathed Mt. Fuji in the distance. This contrasting of human and natural scale gives depth to the image and is also seen in Plates. 107, 143, 149, 238, 239, 244, 244a, 249. This style was established by Hokusai. It can especially be seen in Plates. 138, 258, 258a, *the Series of A Journey to Waterfalls of All the Provinces* by Hokusai, Figs. 13 and 14, were shown the exact adaptation of the subject as well as the style of the composition from *ukiyo-e* to Yokohama Prints.

The subjects also tend to be grouped to the side of the image, opening out a wide space in the middle of the composition (Figs. 16 and Plates. 107, 148, 238, 239, 242, 243, 266). This effect gives a feeling of space within the limited area of the photograph.

The manner of having one subject close up in front and putting another at the very top or bottom is another similarity in composition {Figs. 10 (wisteria and bridge) and 17 (travellers and Mt. Fuji) and Plates. 133 (a traveller and bridge & hut), 147 (ship and Mt. Fuji), 165 (statues & trees and pagoda), 261 (wisteria and bridge & people)}. In this case the interesting effect is that both images are given the same importance as the main subjects. This composition gives us a sense of the depth of the scene.

Purchasing of Yokohama Prints

There were many ways of purchasing Yokohama Prints, making it a complicated business to establish the provenance of particular prints.

The most simple case was where a customer bought an album from one photo studio. Sometimes, however, a customer bought prints from a few different photo studios and asked one of them to bind all the prints which they had bought. In this case, even if the first page of an album has a title with the specific name of a photographer, it does not mean that the album and all the prints were made by one photo studio. Another possibility is where a photograph agency prepared a catalogue of Yokohama Prints which contained the work of several photographers, and several types of ready made albums. Many travellers who did not have time or were not interested in trailing round photo studios could ask someone to buy or organise an album for them.

Some people wanted to make their own album. Such people bought prints which had not been mounted, either by themselves or by ordering from one photo studio, or from a few photo studios or agents. As will be seen in the later chapters, the Andrew Carnegie and Archibald Gordon albums contain many photographs which were purchased in places they visited during their world trip and were personally bound by them on their return as part of a set.

The albumen print, which is very thin and easily curled, was most safely bought when mounted on cardboard. People could not only transport photographs by themselves but could also ask to have them delivered to their homes or further destinations.

Of course, people might buy only one or two prints, not a whole album. Most of these were bought as presents for family or friends.

According to Terry Bennett, in this type of purchase, prints were rolled and put into a cylindrical container.

Price

From the fact that people could buy Yokohama Prints in so many various ways with such a fine service tells us how the business of Yokohama Prints had flourished and had established various services for selling. The price of prints varied depending on the photo studio. According to a list of photographers in Yokohama operating before 1923, seventy nine photographers (sixteen foreign and sixty three Japanese photographers) were active during this period.¹⁹ There was fierce competition not only for service but also in price. In 1885 Shuzaburo Usui, a representative photographer of this period in Yokohama, opened his studio next door to Baron Stillfried, even though Usui also worked for Stillfried. Moreover, Usui sold his prints for half the price of those sold by the Stillfried studio.

Yokohama Prints were generally purchased as an expensive souvenir. From a price list of Kinbei Kusakabe c1892, we can see that prints were priced as follows. An uncoloured print 8 by 10 inches was \$ 0.15 and coloured one was \$ 0.20. It is probable that the 8 by 10 inches coloured prints were the most popular among Scottish travellers because most Yokohama Prints in Scottish collections are of this type. Looking at the difference of the price of uncoloured and coloured prints, it can be assumed that photograph studios could keep the price of coloured prints low by using many unskilled colourists.²⁰ They also prepared packs of a dozen prints which reduced the price to \$ 1. 50 and \$ 2.00, bigger sizes, 22 by 17 inches were uncoloured \$ 1.

¹⁹ Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan, 236-241.

²⁰ See paragraph, Relationship with Woodcut Prints - Tinted prints.

20 and coloured was \$ 2.00 each. Uncoloured lantern Slides were sold for \$ 3.00 and coloured for \$ 6.00 per dozen.

Kinbei Kusakabe was one of the biggest photo studios which produced ready-made albums, the so called 'Kinbei Albums'. According to the price list which has been researched by Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, his stock of the Yokohama Prints contained 2,000 various images and landscapes from all over Japan.²¹ A 13 ³/₄ by 10 ³/₄ inches album with lacquered cover with 50 photos was sold for \$ 15.00 and with 100 photos for \$ 20.00. Bigger albums, 15 ¹/₂ by 12 ¹/₂ were sold with 50 photos for \$ 20.00 and with 100 photos for \$ 31.00, the most expensive item sold c1890.

To get an idea of the value of such items at this time the first salary of a Japanese policeman was eight *yen*, about \$ 5.29 per month.²² The albums were too expensive for Japanese people to buy. That Yokohama Prints were produced for the foreign and tourist market is clear.

'Yokohama Prints' as Export Goods

A surprising number of photographs were exported.²³ Between 1882 and 1901, more than 95,000 photographs were sent abroad; mainly to America (57,000) and Britain (17,000), but also to Hong Kong (8,621), China (6,899), British India (3,029), Australia (891), Holland (680), Germany (514) and France (245). Of the 17,000 prints which went to Britain we can possibly add a number of those imported through Hong Kong.²⁴

²¹ Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, 231.

²² Ibid., 229.

²³ Ibid., 228.

²⁴ Ibid.

The boom in Japanese art is considered as the main reason why many foreign people visited Japan and why so many Japanese photographs were bought by foreign people.

British interest began in the nineteenth century when "the English International Exhibition of 1862 in London triggered off the British craze for things Japanese."²⁵ Margarita Winkel also described how Victorians regarded Japan:

The ambiguous images of Japan appealed to the exotic needs of the Victorians: 'an eastern country which was curiously civilised but hardly European, a nation of beautiful and refined but also enticing and "improper" women, a land which needed the benefits of civilisation through trade and yet one which had a splendid culture to confer upon the west'.²⁶

We can see in Plates. 127, 206, 208, almost nude men working and walking on the street. This would have been an unacceptable and unbelievable sight to the middle and upper class Victorians. Also, women showed their bodies in public without hesitation, such as the scenes in Plates. 121 and 213. To Westerners this would have denoted a primitive and improper people. Yokohama Prints showing the images of semi nude Japanese women probably can be seen as a stereotype of the exotic Japanese lady. However, in Scottish collections, there are very few such images. The morality of Victorian people refused to buy the images as souvenir and show their families.

In France Japanese art, especially *ukiyo-e*, had a great influence on artists of the Impressionist school. The idea of 'Japan' and going to Japan became very fashionable among Europeans and Americans.

²⁵ Winkel, 17.

²⁶ Ibid. Her quotation from Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in Britain and American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 66.

The golden age of the Yokohama Prints continued until its position was taken over by the postcard, much more familiar to the Western visitor, in the 1900s. Some photograph studios which had produced Yokohama Prints moved into making postcards.

The Photographers

Two foreign photographers, Felice Beato and Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, will be introduced as pioneers of, as well as contributors to, the Yokohama Print. Much could be written about the many photographers who were active, but because of the limited space, only two Japanese photographers active in Japan whose works are included in Scottish collections will be introduced.

Felice Beato (1825 - c1908)²⁷

Felice Beato held British nationality but was originally Italian. He was an established war photographer in the 1850s and had worked extensively with James Robertson in the Crimean War, and in the Indian Mutiny. In 1860 he worked with Charles Wirgman, a painter, in China to cover the Anglo-French military expedition that occupied Peking.

It is believed that Beato came to Japan in 1863 through the invitation of Wirgman. The two men opened a photo studio 'Beato & Wirgman' in 1863, and Beato opened his own studio as 'Beato & Co.' in 1869. This ran until 1877, although he remained Japan until 1884.

Beato's career as a war photographer did not end in Japan. He took great interest in the latest political events, and in October 1864, when two

²⁷ The portrait of Felice Beato will be seen on Fig. 20 in Chapter 1.

British officers, Baldwin and Berd, were murdered in Kamakura by exclusionists. Beato took photographs of the place where the murder happened and of the head of Kiyoji Shimizu, who was arrested as the head of the group and guillotined in front of the British army in November 1864. He was also hired as the official photographer of the Shimonoseki War and took photographs of the British and the French armies in 1864.

His most important contributions to Japanese photography are the photographs he took during his travels around Japan. His photographs particularly emphasise the recording of real Japanese lives and scenes. For example, Plate. 93 '*Ford at Sakana-Na gawa*' (1866-67), shows the shift of Japan towards western culture. The two men crossing the river, first left and middle, with long swords, wear European clothes but have old-fashioned Japanese hair styles. Probably, his experience as a war photographer made him very aware of fleeting images, and allowed him to catch and record the images of real Japan and her people. His sharp sense in catching a particular moment, especially the turning periods in the history of Japan can be highly regarded. Also, we are surprised at his enthusiasm to get the image he wants. In this plate, he manages to take a photograph of twenty people, getting them to stand still in the river and holding up their customers. He keeps their attention, and all the people in the image stare at Beato.

What looks like a documentary snapshot is actually a carefully composed image. Jones-Perry in 1881 described Beato's skill:

he may be said to be the father of photography in Japan, and many of the best negatives there are now his productions. He was a true artist and not only manipulated well, but chose his subjects carefully and treated them artistically.²⁸

²⁸ Jones-Perry, S. H., *My Journey Round the World* vol. 2 (1881), 25-26. (From John Clark, *Japanese-British Exchanges in Art 1850s-1930s*. Address for Department of Art History. (Canberra: Australian National University, 1989), 108.)

In this, Beato is also an artist because his photographs shows us exactly what Beato wanted to take from the real life of Japan, in other words, his photographs tell us his message.

Beato lost many of his negatives in a fire in October 1866. However, he re-built his collection by working on landscape photographs in 1876.²⁹ Beato sold his clients' goodwill and negatives to Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz in 1877 and left Japan in 1884, having lost his money on the stock exchange. He moved to India and Burma, continuing his photographic businesses there.

Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (1839-1911)

Baron Stillfried, an Austrian, first visited Japan in 1862 with ambitions to earn money. He opened his photo studio in 1871. The following year, he was hired as an official photographer by the Japanese government, and travelled around Hokkaido. Plates. 63 and 65 were probably taken at this time.

In 1877, he bought Felice Beato's negatives and took over Beato's clients. He reprinted Beato's negatives and added his own photographs to Beato's works. Although it is said that Beato did not colour his landscape photographs, Stillfried later coloured Beato's landscapes as well as his own. Plate. 94 is one such photograph. He sold his negatives to an American, Adolf Farsari, in 1885 and left Japan to return to Austria, leaving two daughters and a Japanese wife.

He took posed pictures of Japanese women and directed photographs in studio especially well. Plates 48, 50, 53, 59, 66, 295, 296 show his photographs on the subject of Japanese women, especially semi nude women. His well composed, compact scenes show the beauty of simplicity.

²⁹ Clark, 104.

Difficulty of Identifying Photographers

A problem with Yokohama Prints is the difficulty of identifying the photographers. As we have already seen, Stillfried used Beato's negatives without noting them as Beato's works, moreover adding his own works to the collection. No record was made of copyright - sometimes the prints have studio catalogue numbers on the images, but again, sometimes the original numbers were scratched off and new numbers were added. Therefore, it is difficult to say which photographer took them originally. Furthermore because of natural causes, for example earthquakes, typhoons or fires which often occurred in Japan, very few original catalogues or other documentary materials have survived.

However, there are several clues we can use to identify photographers and to establish more or less when the photographs were taken. In 1876 'The First Photographic Regulation' was enforced in Japan. The formalities were carried out in the following way; a photographer had to be registered and pay the value of twelve prints and give three samples of the image of one photograph, then the photographer could obtain five years patent under the name of 'the right of photograph'. Therefore, photographs which do not include any number or title assembly can be identified as having been produced before 1876.

Favourite subjects, or typical manner of composition can give hints as to who took a photograph. Felice Beato took many excellent ethnographic and anthropological images, as has been mentioned. Yet, his style was widely copied and later photographers used the same style as Felice Beato, and his oval or cameo shapes, such as we can see in Plates. 60 and 67.

Also the manner of titling, such as colour tone and numbering give important clues. Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan studied the style of other early photographers, and discovered, for example, that Felice Beato and Baron

Stillfried never used Japanese characters for their prints.³⁰ Shuzaburo Usui used both Arabic and Japanese characters for his numbering, while Kusakabe Kinbe used Arabic numbers and titles on the prints. His negatives, especially, were well-organised in a catalogue in which negatives with a number lower than 500 are about manners and customs, 500s are about Yokohama, 600s are about Tokyo, 700s are about Nikko and where the letter 'S' comes before the Arabic number the subject is sericulture, an 'E' signifies photographs of the Gifu earthquake. Although these rules are not always followed and are always adaptable (sometimes he did not mark on any number or mixed numbers),³¹ it can be regarded as one yardstick for identification.

Additionally, the first generation of Yokohama Prints makers such as Renjyo Shimooka, Felice Beato and Shimizu Tokoku did not make albums.³² The selling of prints bound in Japanese lacquer covers or boxes was established in the second generation of Yokohama Prints photographers such as Shinich Suzuki, Kinbe Kusakabe and Kozaburo Tamamura from the 1880s to the 1900s.

For future research, the titles and numbers attached to prints I have researched, along with their style of photography, are listed and attached in this dissertation.³³

³⁰ Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, 246.

³¹ Ibid.

³² From the research of Kwasaki City Museum in Japan.

³³ See Appendix 2.

SECTION II

INDIVIDUAL SCOTTISH COLLECTIONS

CHAPTER 1

THE COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE, KT.

Three albumen prints of Japanese images have recently been discovered in a photograph album belonging to the eleventh Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT. in the collections at Broomhall in Fife. The name of Lord Elgin is well known in Japan as the British envoy who concluded the historical trade agreement, between Britain and Japan in 1858, which was one of a series later referred to as the '*Ansei* commercial treaties'³⁴. Material associated with the photographs tells us further details about the prints and the interesting story of the images, and this evidence leads us to a certain conclusion that the photographs were taken in Japan in 1858, during the negotiations for this treaty by a British photographer.

Early Contacts between Britain and Japan

A knowledge of the historical position of the '*Ansei* commercial treaties' is essential for a deeper understanding of the three Japanese prints.

The first contact between Britain and Japan can be dated back to the British pilot of a Dutch ship named William Adams. This ship was the remnant of a Dutch expedition which limped into the Japanese harbour of Kyushu island in 1600. Adams met Ieyasu Tokugawa, who was governor in Japan and a man of considerable power at that time. Tokugawa came to

³⁴ *Ansei* is the name of the imperial era/court. This imperial era is still adapted in Japan with western year. It is so named because the '*Ansei* commercial treaties' was concluded in *Ansei* 5 (1858).



Figure. 18. Portrait of James Bruce, the eighth Lord Elgin and twelfth Kincardine, KT. From Morison, J. L. *The Eighth Earl of Elgin. A Chapter In Nineteenth-Century Imperial History.*

value his skill in shipbuilding and gunnery and granted him privileges and estates as an adviser on foreign trade matters.³⁵

After Adams' death in Japan in 1620, Britain and Japan lost contact for over two hundred and thirty years when Japan was closed to the outside world. American warships appeared at the port of Shimoda in Japan in 1854 and broke this closed period. Commodore Matthew Perry demanded that Japan provide trade facilities for the United States. Following the lead given by the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of Britain's China squadron, Admiral Sir James Stirling, visited Japan in 1854 and signed a limited arrangement for trade with the magistrate of Nagasaki.

The 'Ansei Commercial Treaties'

The British Envoy James Bruce, the eighth Earl of Elgin³⁶, visited Nagasaki on 3 August 1858 to conclude trade agreements between Britain and Japan. In a letter to his wife on 1 August 1858 during the voyage to Nagasaki, he noted his feeling that: "I do not exactly know what I shall do when I get to Nagasaki, but at any rate I shall ascertain what my chances are of making a satisfactory treaty with Japan."³⁷ His task was to negotiate a trade agreement with as good conditions as possible for Britain. His intention to succeed can be seen from his words that "I am disposed to believe that nothing can be accomplished here[Nagasaki], and that if anything is to be done we must go on to Yeddo[Edo]."³⁸ He did not have to rely solely on diplomacy: "He[the Admiral] finds that his instructions direct him to send the Emperor a yacht

³⁵ Although he asked to go back to Britain, Tokugawa did not give him the permission, and he stayed in Japan for the rest of his life, changing his name to Japanese as 'Anju Miura' with his Japanese wife and two children. He died in Nagasaki in 1620.

³⁶ See Fig. 18. The portrait of the eighth Lord Elgin.

³⁷ *Extracts From the Letters of James Earl of Elgin Etc. Etc. to Mary Louisa Countess of Elgin 1847 - 1862.* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1864), 111.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

(which is to be a present) to Yeddo. I shall take advantage of this and go to Yeddo myself at once."³⁹

However, the situation was not quite as Lord Elgin expected. On 12 August after his ship anchored in the harbour of Simoda, the nearest harbour from *Edo* where foreign ships could enter at that time, he went off immediately to see the American Consul-General, Mr. Harris. Mr Harris was the only foreigner resident at Simoda and had already proceeded with the American treaty, and Lord Elgin asked his advice. He soon realised that he did not have a 'letter of credence', and this meant he could not get permission to go to *Edo*. Also, he faced the serious problem that there was no way of communicating with the Japanese people except through the Dutch language. Although he got an English-Dutch interpreter, Mr Hewsken, from Mr Harris, he wrote to his wife that: "You see how I was situated. The problem I had to solve was:- How to make a treaty without *time* (for I cannot stay here above a few days), *interpreter*, or *credentials*!!"⁴⁰ Despite these problems, it seems that he managed to further his aims smoothly.

On 16 August, Lord Elgin was able to submit a draft of his Treaty to the Japanese authorities. On 26 August at 1:00 p.m., Japanese commissioners came to sign the Treaty, and Lord Elgin agreed to make the Dutch language copy the original, as it was the language both parties understood. As a finale, the Emperor's yacht was gifted to Japan at 5:00 p.m. The Japanese fort saluted the British flag with a twenty-one gun salute, as Lord Elgin had planned and requested them to do so. When he left *Edo*, he saw that the forts were illuminated. He wrote of his satisfaction that "Imagine our daring exploit of breaking through every *consigne*, and coming up to Yeddo, having ended in an illumination of the forts in our honour!"⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., 112.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 114.

⁴¹ Ibid., 123.

The content of the treaty regulated for the opening of several Japanese cities for trade, including Kanagawa where Shimoda is located (later changed to nearby Yokohama), Niigata, Hyogo(now Kobe), Hakodate, Nagasaki, Edo(now Tokyo) and Osaka; provided for the exchange of diplomatic representatives; assigned living and residential areas for foreign residents; set tariff rates; and sanctioned extra territoriality. Japan concluded this treaty also with the United States, Russia, the Netherlands and France.

These treaties drew Japan⁴², for the first time in 250 years, into a network of economic and political relationships with the West, and they established the first official diplomatic relations between Britain and Japan. The three newly discovered photographs were apparently taken during the negotiations in Japan and they provide images of some of the people actually involved in this historic event. The photographs therefore have an importance from the aspect of historical record as well as evidence of early photography in Japan.

The Photographer

It is believed that Lord Elgin took a photographer with him on his mission to China and Japan between 1857 and 1859. However, this has not been categorically confirmed from either published material or from the photographs.

⁴² The agreements of 'Ansei commercial treaties' expanded upon earlier pacts that had opened the ports of Shimoda, Nagasaki, and Hakodate and provided for the opening of the ports of Kanagawa (now Yokohama), Niigata, and Hyogo (now Kobe) and cities of Edo and Osaka. They also established tariffs on a sliding scale, ranging from 5 percent on raw materials to 20 percent on most manufactured goods, 35 percent in the case of alcoholic beverages, and acknowledged the right of foreigners to be tried in consular courts according to their own laws.

The basic details of the mission and the information about the photographer are in the *Narrative of The Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59*.⁴³, which was written by Laurence Oliphant, the private secretary to Lord Elgin.

The first important information is encountered on the front page of both volumes 1 and 2: /WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS & PHOTOGRAPHS/. At this time, 1859, when photographs could not be printed in books, photographic images were copied by etching for publication. Considering these circumstances, the etchings in the books should have been copied from the images of photographs which were taken in China and Japan.

Oliphant also mentions the name of a photographer in the preface of the book: "I am indebted to Mr Jocelyn for several admirable photographs of the principal Chinese officials with whom we came in contact."⁴⁴, and where an etching of the Second Imperial Commissioner of China is adapted in the book, he notes that: "The accompanying portraits are copied from photographs taken by the Hon. N. Jocelyn."⁴⁵ An interesting fact is that a photograph with the same image as this etching, 'Hwashana, Second Imperial Commissioner', is included in the same album.

Furthermore, a note on the last page of vol. 1. suggests a strong possibility that Jocelyn accompanied Lord Elgin's mission to Japan in that: "Mr. Jocelyn had arrived to relieve Mr. Cameron, who went home on his promotion : and Mr Morrison returned to England. With our party thus reduced, we embarked on board the *Furious* on the last day of July 1858."⁴⁶ These facts cannot be taken as direct proof that the three Japanese images under consideration were taken by Jocelyn.

⁴³ Laurence Oliphant. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59*. vol. 1 and 2. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1859).

⁴⁴ Oliphant, vol. 1, viii.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 347.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 450.

There are other sources which mention the name of Jocelyn as a photographer. Terry Bennett has noted that:

Even more frustrating is the non-appearance of documented photographs taken by the official photographer to Lord Elgin's mission to China and Japan in 1858, the Honourable William Nassau Jocelyn. These are mentioned in his private journal - held by the Yokohama Archives of History - as well as Oliphant's book of the voyage.⁴⁷

In the article 'China, 1860: A Photographic Album by Felice Beato', it is stated that:

Beato became the semi-official photographer with the English forces in China through his connections with people. . . . The British forces had at least two other photographers in their ranks. One was Lieutenant John Aston Papillon (1838-91), a member of the Royal Engineers who had been stationed in China since 1858. . . . The other amateur photographer was the Honourable N. Jocelyn, a member of the British Embassy.⁴⁸

Could Felice Beato himself have been the photographer used by Lord Elgin in Japan? Information on Felice Beato notes that Beato was in Calcutta between 13 February and 18 October 1858. From this fact, it is clear that Beato could not have visited Japan in August 1858 and taken these photographs.⁴⁹

On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that Jocelyn had worked for the British Embassy at least since 1857 to 1860. We can therefore suggest that Jocelyn could have gone to Japan between 3 and 29 August 1858 as a member of Lord Elgin's mission to Japan.

According to *Burke's Peerage*, William Nassau Jocelyn was the third son of the Earl of Roden, born on 23 October 1832. He entered the foreign service

⁴⁷ Terry Bennett, "Early Photographic Images of 19th Century Japan," *The Japan Society - Proceedings*, no. 126 (Winter 1995) : 58.

⁴⁸ Isobel Crombie, "China, 1860: A Photographic Album by Felice Beato," *History of Photography* 11, no. 1 (January-March 1987) : 28.

⁴⁹ Clark, 98.

RODEN.



Figure. 19. Coat of Arms of the Roden Family.

and acted as the secretary to the British Legation at Constantinople between 1874-78, and as Charge d'Affaires at Hesse-Darmstadt in 1878. Later he also served as Minister and residence to the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt in 1892.⁵⁰ When he went to China in 1858, he was twenty five years of age.

The present Lord Elgin has stated that other photographs previously in his possession, which were taken in China and Japan during the mission, were bound within two albums. One of these was purchased by a Canadian institution and the other was passed to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. After enquiry to the museum, several facts became clear. The album in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum is inscribed "Volume I, 1858-1860.". However, only thirteen images out two hundred and twenty three were taken in China and Japan. The others are images of Britain and Italy.

According to the research of the Victoria and Albert Museum, twelve of the group of thirteen Chinese/Japanese photographs have no identifying signatures or monograms, but one print, the image of an unidentified harbour, and a ship at sea, does have a monogram. Although the monogram is hard to decipher, it possibly reads 'WNJ', the initials of William Nassau Jocelyn.

Also, some of this group of photographs have a very small emblematic blind-stamp with the motto: *FAIRE MON DEVOIR*. This is the family motto of the Earls of Roden, 'Do my duty', which we can see on their coat of arms.⁵¹ Therefore, it becomes apparent that Jocelyn used his family seal instead of using his signature or monogram.

⁵⁰ Peter Townend, ed., *Burke's Peerage-Baronetage and Knightage*, 105th ed. (London: Burke's Peerage Limited, 1970), 2281.

⁵¹ Townend, 2280. Also see Fig. 19.

Unfortunately, there are no blind-stamps or monograms visible on the three prints of Japanese images at Broomhall since they are mounted in the album. It is clear that the original prints were trimmed to fit the album because of pencil lines and curved edges of the prints which have probably been caused by a knife or scissors.⁵²

However, most of the material which I was able to research leads to the conclusion that William Nassau Jocelyn is the most likely photographer to have taken these three photographs of Lord Elgin's mission to Japan in 1858.

Three Japanese Images

There are no records which we can find concerning the photographs in the album apart from the hand-written titles in the original album.⁵³ However, by comparing the titles and the images with publications which record the eighth Lord Elgin's visit to China and Japan, we can speculate on the circumstances in which the photographs were taken and the identities of the people in the images.

1. Japanese Dogs⁵⁴

The first print is titled 'Japanese Dogs'. The image was probably taken on the deck of a British warship because two puppies are laid on a ship's capstan. Oliphant mentions precise details about the encounter with Japanese dogs in his book and records the excitement of the British party toward these dogs. Japanese people were charmed by the creatures, but the story is told through

⁵² See Plate. 2, 3, 4a.

⁵³ Further details will be seen in the private journal of William Nassau Jocelyn in the Yokohama Archives of History in Japan.

⁵⁴ See Plate. 2.

the rather cynical observations of Oliphant who did not like Japanese dogs very much. The dogs were purchased in *Edo*, and the story is given below. The subheading to the chapter is 'DOG MANIA':

But the taste for china, and the range for lacquer, were nothing as compared to the mania for dogs. The dog peculiar to Japan, and which is supposed to have been the origin of the King Charles spaniel, does indeed bear a considerable resemblance to that breed : the ears are not so long and silky, and the nose is more of a pug ; but the size, shape, and colour of the body are almost identical. The face is by no means attractive : the eyes are usually very prominent, as though starting from the head ; the forehead is overhanging, and the nose so minute that it forms rather a depression than a projection on the face ; the jaw is somewhat prominent, and is frequently so much underhung that the mouth cannot be shut, in consequence of which the tongue protrudes in a waggish manner, at variance with the staring eye, which should, for the sake of consistency, be slightly closed, with a tendency to wink.

When the great majority of our party had furnished themselves with three or four of these prepossessing animals each, which were confined in kennels formed of paper screens up in our loft, the consequences to an unhappy victim like myself, who had resisted their charms, were most trying. They used to demolish their paper kennels with their teeth, quarrel with each other, howl dismally during the still hours of the night, or have spasms. They were subject to weakness and violent cramp in the loins and hindlegs, and then their owners used to devote the small hours of the morning to fomenting them with hot water, and wrapping them in warm flannels. In spite of all their efforts, some of these delicate little creatures died, to the inexpressible grief of those who had listened so often to their nocturnal whinings. Even in Yedo, the price of a handsome pair of these dogs is as much as fifty or sixty dollars ; so that it is worth while to sit up at night to alleviate their sufferings.⁵⁵

The man with a hat who is holding a puppy and standing beside the capstan might be identified as Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Hope Crealock

⁵⁵ Oliphant, vol. 2, 155-156.



Figure. 20. Portrait of (left-right) Felice Beato, Major J. Dormer, Major J. Thurlow and Lieutenant Colonel H. H. Crealock. From *History of Photography*. Vol. 11, No. 1, January-March 1987. 25.

(1831-1891), who was Military Secretary in Lord Elgin's Embassy to China in 1860. He is mentioned by Isobel Crombie as the person who either compiled or purchased Beato's sixty-six photographs, which were taken in the course of the Second Opium War.⁵⁶ He was a distinguished soldier and had previously served in the Crimean War, in China during the First Opium War (1857-58) and the Bengal-Sepoy Mutiny. He reached the regimental rank of lieutenant-colonel on 20 July 1858.⁵⁷

A portrait photograph which was taken in 1860, two years after Lord Elgin's mission to Japan, shows Lieutenant-Colonel Crealock. In this portrait he is bareheaded, but the figure is still very similar to the man in the image of 'Japanese Dogs'.⁵⁸

2. Group in Japan (1)⁵⁹

It can be suggested that the image of a group portrait of five Japanese men shows the relationship between British officers and Japanese officers who worked towards concluding the 'Ansei commercial treaties'. Unfortunately, in this research, I could not positively identify these people. However, several names of people who would be the figures portrayed in either Plate. 3 or Plate. 4 can be suggested. In the Japanese records, the encyclopaedias of Japanese history, the names of two Foreign Ministers and five Governors who were appointed specifically for the treaties are recorded.⁶⁰ They were appointed in June in 1858 through a re-shuffle of officials. It was they who dealt with the British people from 3 to 26 August 1858: Sukemoto Ota and

⁵⁶ Lee Sidney, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XIII (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1896), 81-82.

⁵⁷ Crombie, 27.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 25. See Fig. 20.

⁵⁹ See Plate.3.

⁶⁰ Kokushi Daijiten Henshu-iinkai, ed., *Kokushi Daijiten*, vol. 1-15. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan Ltd., 1991) and Yoshihiko Shimonaka, ed., *Daijinmei-jiten*, vol. 1-2. (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd., 1957), 511.

Akikatsu Manabe as two Foreign Ministers, and Tadanori Mizuno, Naomune Nagai, Toshihiro Hori (who had been Governor of Hakodate), Kiyonao Inoue (who had been Governor of Shimoda), and Tadanari Iwase as five Governors.

Foreign Governors had just been established to help in opening the country to the outside world and were the most important posts for the country at that time. Therefore, the people who were appointed to these posts were exceptional men with wide experience as government officers.⁶¹ Adding to the Japanese records, Oliphant notes in his book the six Japanese Commissioners who were mainly involved in working on the treaties:

The following are the names of the six Commissioners, as written down by him [Iwase] in the English character[s] upon a fan which he presented to me. The spelling is his own.

1. Midjimats-ko-goni-kami (formerly Governor of Nagasaki).⁶²
2. Nagai Gembono-kami (the Admiral).
3. Inogge Sinanono-kami (Governor of Simoda).
4. Iwase Higo-no-kami.
5. Holi Olibeno-kami.
6. Tsuda-handzoboro.⁶³

Comparing with the Japanese records, the names of five Governors are matched as follows:

1. Midjimats-ko-goni-kami - Tadanori Mizuno
2. Nagai Gembono-kami (the Admiral) - Naomune Nagai
3. Inogge Sinanono-kami (Governor of Simoda) - Kiyonao Inoue
(who had been Governor of Shimoda)
4. Iwase Higo-no-kami - Tadanari Iwase
5. Holi Olibeno-kami - Toshihiro Hori
6. Tsuda-handzoboro - ?

⁶¹ Mitsutada Inoue and others, eds., *Nihon Rekishi -taike, Kindai I*, vol. 4. (Tokyo: Yamakawa Publishing Ltd, 1987), 124.

⁶² 'Midjimats-ko-goni-kami' can identify as Tadanori Mizuno from the information of his former post.

⁶³ Oliphant, vol. 2, 161.

Although the names, as recorded, do not match exactly, with the exception of '6. Tsuda-handzoboro', all can be linked to the people recorded in the Japanese records. Oliphant described the difference of the title name and system from the British way in his book.⁶⁴

The six figures portrayed in Plate. 3 are possibly the above six Governors. Considering the fact that the names of the two Foreign Ministers were not recorded by Iwase, it is possible that the two higher graded officials did not always appear together with the six Governors. Another possibility is that Plate. 4 portrays all seven officials, in which case, the two men who are sitting in the first row in the centre would be the Foreign Ministers, Sukemoto Ota and Akikatsu Manabe, the higher officials, and the rest of the people would be the five Governors. The photograph was possibly taken on 26 August 1858, the day the treaty was concluded.

Two other names may be linked with the figures in the photographs: Einosuke Moriyama, a Dutch-Japanese interpreter, and Tainosuke, an assistant of Moriyama. They had to act and work with both sides to aid their communication, especially, Moriyama who might have seemed the closest person to the British officers. Without him, both parties could not have communicated with each other.

The image seems to illustrate a relaxed atmosphere on both sides of the negotiations. Three Western figures can be recognised, one is standing at the edge of the left side and wears a western hat and trousers. He is watching the photographs being taken. Two others are sitting on chairs inside the house. They also wear western trousers and have crossed their legs. At the back of

⁶⁴ At that time, the Japanese government officers were drawn from the Lords. Oliphant explained that "kami seems to be a generic appendage to the names of men of a certain rank: just as, in England, all noblemen between the rank of marques and baron are styled Lord. It is a title which cannot be used except by those of gentle blood. Next in order to the Saimos[Daimyo], or second class of nobles, ... and the privilege of wearing two swords, by their merit." (Oliphant, vol. 2, 149.)

the group portrait, on the left side of the wooden pillar, at least four Japanese men are seen standing, wearing informal clothes and without swords. On the other side of the pillar, at least four Japanese men in formal clothes are watching the scene. One man, probably Japanese, is sitting between the Japanese and Western people inside the house. Four men who are in the portrait group wear the formal costume of the high class officer, *kataginu* and special trousers, *hanbakama*, with two swords. It is perhaps surprising that Japanese people stand very closely to Western men without any tension.

This photograph was taken in informal circumstances. The six people are not standing properly, three of them are sitting, three of them are standing in a row which is not strictly straight. Also, one man is standing just behind the other officer, so he shows only his face over an officer's shoulder. The photographer did not seem to care that the photograph also would only take the back of the five Japanese officers.

Comparing these five officials with the other group Plate. 3, there is no obvious identical person in the two photographs. However, both images have large parts out of focus.

3. Group in Japan (2)⁶⁵

In contrast to Group in Japan(1), this shows a very formal group. A paper screen - *byobu* is used as a background. The custom of standing in front of the *byobu*, or using the *byobu*, is still common in Japan on the celebration of a wedding, special announcement or party. Also all members of this group wear the formal clothes of officers; the jacket - *haori* and trousers - *hakama* or *hanbakama* and two short and long swords. The man sitting in the centre front row opening a Japanese fan - *sensu* is especially notable and interesting. He

⁶⁵ See Plate. 4.

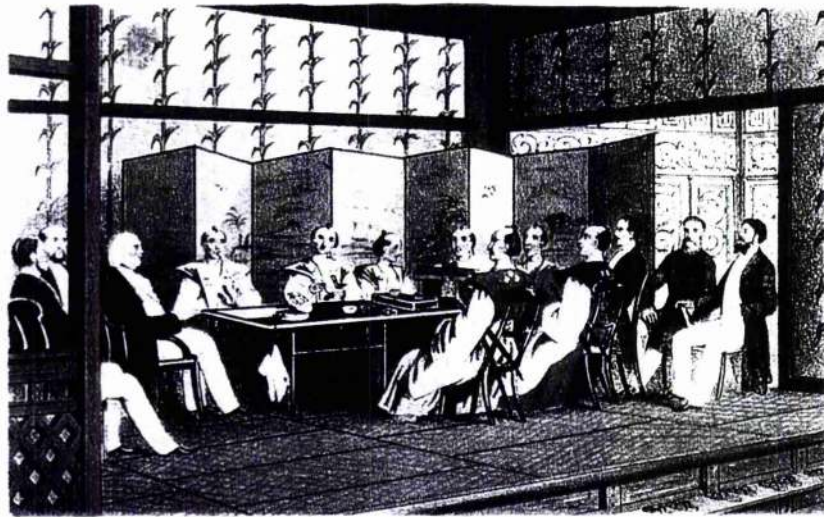


Figure. 21. Drawing; Bedwell, *Exchange of Full Powers Between the Earl of Elgin & Japanese Commissioners*, 1858. From Laurence Oliphant. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59*. vol. 2. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1859).

shows off his position and probably satisfaction by opening his fan and posing. His attitude shows his composed feeling.

An interesting painting⁶⁶ by Mr Bedwell, official painter of Lord Elgin's mission to China and Japan, shows a very similar *byobu* and the same number of officials as in the photograph. Oliphant noted in the preface to his book that "The very talented and truthful drawings, of which I have been permitted by Lord Elgin to avail myself, were presented to his Lordship by Mr Bedwell, R. N., who accompanied the mission to Japan in the yacht Emperor."⁶⁷ There are still some differences between the photograph and drawing. For example, the Japanese officials' clothes are slightly different, only the man who sits in the first row left side wears exactly the same costume as we can see in the drawing. It is possible that they changed their clothes before the taking of the photograph. Another point is that the *byobu* in the drawing has eight panels though in the photograph has six panels. However, the paintings on the *byobu* are similar in both images, though they are out of focus in the photograph.

The subject matter and composition suggest that this photograph was taken at the time of the treaty signing, and that the seven officials portrayed served in the treaty negotiations on the Japanese side.

Japanese Officials through British Eyes

Looking at the images, especially Plate. 2, we are bound to question how the sitters, the British and Japanese negotiates, managed to communicate. How did they regard each other under these special circumstances, with no information of the culture and life style of either country, and the necessity of

⁶⁶ See Fig. 21.

⁶⁷ Oliphant, vol. 1, viii.

strict diplomacy and tact for their own country's benefit always upon them? Oliphant gives details about their relationships and behaviour. When Oliphant makes notes on Japanese officers, he always puts 'our friend' before their name. These friendly relationships could be a reason why the photographs shows us a relaxed atmosphere in both parties. To understand the further background of the figures in these three photographs, the comments and observations of Oliphant about Japanese officers will be considered.

First of all, when Oliphant met Commissioners he writes that: "We had no idea that the plain-looking group before us contained so important a personage; and in answer to a polite invitation to join their party, we twisted our legs under us, received from them pipes containing homeopathic doses of tobacco in exchange for our cigars, and refreshed ourselves with some delicious tea."⁶⁸ His comments about several other officers are as follows:

Naomune Nagai; "He was our naval friend. The admiral was the most intelligent and active member of the party ; and when he and the ex-Governor of Nagasaki (Tadanori Mizuno) were agreed, the rest seldom failed to follow their lead."⁶⁹

"Nagai and Iwase were accompanied by an individual who played a very important part throughout the negotiations, and whose real value was indeed very little below his own very high estimate of it."⁷⁰ "He was a very grave old man, during a dead pause in the conversation, suddenly started to his feet and emitted a stentorian cheer, after which he sat solemnly down, the effect on the result of the company being to produce an irresistible shout of laughter. But though Sina-nono made a slight mistake upon this occasion, it was worthy of remark how easily our guests seemed to fall into our way, and how quickly they adapted themselves to them. It very soon occurred to them

⁶⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 161.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 105.

that some sort of acknowledgement was due from them, which they begged to express."⁷¹

Tadanori Iwase; "Higo (Iwase) was the wit of the party, and was often in consequence not only inattentive himself, but apt to distract the attention of the others. It was evident in the twinkle of his eye when he was meditating a pun. His observations, nevertheless, upon business matters, whenever he condescended to make them, were always shrewd and to the point."⁷² "He was a cheerful person and turned out the most agreeable and intelligent person I met in Japan."⁷³ "I was fortunate enough to sit next of Higono-kami at lunch, and we employed ourselves making a vocabulary on his fan. Though he had never seen a foreigner, until within the last few months, in his life, he could write in the English character, and was very quick in picking up and retaining the correct pronunciation of every vowel I told him. . . . I saw him almost every day during the remainder of my stay in Yedo, and he generally used to repeat without a mistake the lesson of the day before. He was infinitely more interested in studying English than in watching the progress of the negotiations, and carried perpetually about in his bosom a stock of fans, which contained his vocabulary. At luncheon, however, he generally contrived to combine duty with inclination, and having carefully noted the name of each dish, forthwith proceeded to partake of it."⁷⁴

Einosuke Moriyama; "He wrote and spoke Dutch with almost as much facility as Japanese, and was the means of communication between Mr. Hewsken and the Commissioners. Beneath a ludicrous affection of the manner Moriyama concealed an infinite amount of practical, shrewd, common sense. He was, in fact, a diplomat of the Talleyrand school, always silky and smiling, anxious to impress upon you that he was a mere humble

⁷¹ Ibid., 226.

⁷² Ibid., 161.

⁷³ Ibid., 104.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 105-106.

interpreter, while through his bland diffidence it was easy to distinguish a latent ambition to have everything his own way, and a perfect confidence in his own powers."⁷⁵

Sukemoto Ota; "Otta Bungo-no-kami was a thin spare man, with a shrivelled face, indicating shrewdness, and I have guessed parsimony."⁷⁶

Akikatsu Manabe; "His[Ota] colleague (Manabe) was heavier looking, and without any marked expression."⁷⁷

Though the officers of both countries had to negotiate the important treaty under the pressure of diplomatic success, it seems that they also enjoyed getting to know each other.

On the British side, it should be remembered that they were visiting Japan just after they had concluded the 'Tianjin Treaty' in China, which had not fully succeeded. As a result of the refusal of China to implement the treaty, the British had to continue their diplomatic struggle to conclude the 'Beijing Treaty' in 1860 after they went back to China from Japan. These two treaties with China gave Britain control over China for a long time. In other words, as Hiroshi Imai mentions, the main target of diplomats in the Far East was not Japan but China at that time.⁷⁸ In comparison with China, Japan might have seemed to the British mission a comfortable and peaceful place.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 105.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 152.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Hiroshi Imai, *Nihonjin to Igirisujin* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 1994), 54-55.

The Album⁷⁹

Considering the album as a whole, it is important to consider what information and clues are provided by the volume itself. Only three Japanese images are contained. Otherwise, the album consists of images of Aden (in the south of Yemen), Muscat (the capital of Oman), Amman (the capital of Jordan), Arabia, Galla[?] Slaves, Chief of Laheji[?], China, Yangzhou Kiang River (in China), Shanghai, Japan, India, Calcutta and Simla (Northern India) etc. In other words, it is a kind of scrap book of various images from different places, depicting architecture, foreign people, landscapes and portraits. Some of them can be recognised as very important images for the historical record such as the photographs of China.

According to the present Lord Elgin, the album has been in his house, Broomhall, for a long time. There are several possibilities why the album is in his collection at present. The album is inscribed with the name, /Photographs/Col. Playfair/, suggesting that Colonel Playfair was the owner of the album at one point. No record exists of how the album was transferred from the Playfair's family to the Bruce family's ownership.

Colonel Playfair

At this stage, it is necessary to consider which Colonel Playfair is referred to. He would need to have lived around 1863, because the latest photographs in the album were taken in India in 1863. Five Playfairs from the period who held the title of Colonel appear in a history of the Playfair family.⁸⁰ They are Colonel George William Playfair (1826-75)⁸¹, George Elliot Minto Playfair

⁷⁹ See Plate. 1.

⁸⁰ Hugh Playfair *The Playfair Family* (Privately Printed, 1984), 41-46. was used as reference.

⁸¹ The family of Lieutenant-Colonel William Davidson Playfair.

(1828-99)⁸², Colonel Frederick Lyon Playfair (1830-1907)⁸³, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew William Playfair (1790-1868)⁸⁴ and Sir (Robert) Lambert Playfair KCMG, LTD (1828-99)⁸⁵. It can be suggested that Sir Robert Lambert Playfair is the most likely of these to have been involved in the making of this album.⁸⁶

Sir Robert Lambert Playfair(1828-99) was born in St Andrews in 1828, the third son of Surgeon-General George Playfair who was chief Inspector-General of hospitals in Bengal, and the grandson of James Playfair who was the principal of the University of St Andrews, his elder brother was Sir Lyon Playfair . He was educated at St Andrews and Addiscombe Military College before joining the Madras Artillery in 1846. Having attained the rank of captain in 1858, he was transferred to the Madras staff corps in 1861.

According to his biography, before being chosen by Sir James Outram as his Assistant Political Agent in Aden in 1854 he travelled extensively in India, sometimes with his cousin Elliot Minto Playfair, and to Aden and Egypt. From November 1848 to May 1850 Playfair had already been associated with Sir James Outram in a quasi-political mission to Syria. He served as an assistant executive engineer at Aden in 1853, and appointed as Assistant Political agent at Aden. He remained in Aden until 17 December 1862 when he was appointed agent in Zanzibar. He remained there until his retirement from the army as Lieutenant-Colonel. This title was given in Zanzibar on 30 June 1863, and his appointment as Consul-General of Algeria followed in 1867.

⁸² He is also the family of Lieutenant-Colonel William Davidson Playfair. He became Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Artillery after a successful career in public service in India.

⁸³ The family of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair, Provost of St Andrews.

⁸⁴ The family of Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew William Playfair of Playfairville.

⁸⁵ The family of Surgeon-General George Playfair.

⁸⁶ The following biography is based on the consolidated information source of Hugh Playfair, 41-46. and Sidney, vol. XLV, 272-273.

He was involved in suppressing the slave trade between Arabia and Somaliland, and in the events connected with the British occupation of Perim in 1857. His interest in archaeology led him to discover the great reservoirs which date from the time of the Romans while at Aden. Besides, he had qualified as interpreter in the Arabic language, and he put the period of his residence to good account by making researches into the history of that part of Arabia. His work was published at Bombay in 1859 under the title *History of Arabia Felix or Yemen from the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time*. In 1860, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

As already noted, the album of 'Col. Playfair' included photographs of various places, and many appear both in the album and in Sir Robert Lambert Playfair's biography, though he never visited China or Japan. Also, the significance of the subjects of the images should be noted, such as the Galla[?] Slaves and Chief of Laheji[?], which would clearly have been of concern to Sir Robert Lambert Playfair.

On the possibility of contacts between Lord Elgin's family and the Playfair's, especially Sir Robert Lambert Playfair, a few points can be mentioned. Firstly, among the publications of Sir Robert Lambert Playfair, there is a book titled *Travels in the Footsteps of [James] Bruce*, which was published in 1877. This James Bruce (1730-1794) was related to Lord Elgin and was famous as an early explorer to Africa. A remarkable journey is one that he took from Egypt to find the source of the Blue Nile in 1770.⁸⁷ Even though the published date is 1877, after the eighth Lord Elgin's death in India, it is worthy of note as one link of two families. Although there is no direct evidence connecting the two individuals, both belonged to famous Fife families. At the time in question members of most upper class families had

⁸⁷ Leslie Stephen and Lee Sidney, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1882), 98-102.

some connection each other and worked in India or China. It is generally assumed that Lord Elgin and Playfair possibly had a personal contact in some way.

Checking the private correspondence of Sir Robert Lambert Playfair, he received many letters from Bombay around 1860 to 1880. He received the title of Lieutenant-Colonel at Zanzibar on 30 June 1863. It is generally accepted that people who got the title of Lieutenant-Colonel used the title of Colonel. In fact, some letters which Sir Robert Lambert Playfair received noted Colonel Playfair.⁸⁸ Therefore, it can be recognised that Sir Robert Lambert Playfair could use the title of Colonel from 30 June 1863, and continued to do so for the rest of his life. The eighth Lord Elgin died on 20 November 1863 at Dharamsala in India, when he was Viceroy of India. Even if the album did not pass between the eighth Lord Elgin and Sir Robert Lambert Playfair between 30 June and November 1863, it is also possible that the album could have moved between the families after the eighth Lord Elgin's death, until Sir Robert Lambert Playfair's death in 1899. However, considering that the photographs which have Indian images are the last pages in the album, and some pages are left blank, it can be suggested that the album was made in 1863 or, at least, just after that year.

Other points need to be considered. If the album was made by the eighth Lord Elgin, how did he get the prints of Arabia and Africa? On the other hand, if the album was gifted from Sir Robert Lambert Playfair, how could he have obtained the images of China and Japan? A connection with a third person who could have access to all the prints in the album is left as an open question.

⁸⁸ the letters in the box of Robert Lambert Playfair Papers, Special Collections, St Andrews University Library Archives, St Andrews.

The Importance of the Three Prints
from the Aspect of 'Japanese History of Photography'

The photographs have valuable significance because the images were taken at a historic point in the relationship between Britain and Japan, as well as being very early paper prints which were taken of Japanese subjects in Japan.

Although material on the history of Japanese photography is limited. I have not come across any other paper or albumen prints certainly datable before 1860, though many daguerreotypes exist in Japan. The single paper photograph, which is attributed to Nariakira Shimazu, has been dated to before 1860. However, the date is not certain and it is only believed that the image was taken between 1854 and 1860.

Also, as has been noted in the introduction of this thesis, in 1857, the wet plate process was introduced and taught to the Japanese, it did not initially succeed. It is believed that the wet plate process was re-introduced to Japan in 1859. However, exactly when the Japanese could develop the wet plate images on to paper is not clear.

On the other hand, that these three albumen prints were taken in Japan in 1858, is apparent from historical fact. These three photographs are among the oldest paper or albumen prints which were taken in Japan, and the historical value of the photographs cannot be over-stressed.

Conclusion

Because of the very recent discovery of these photographs only limited research was possible for this analysis. Further research will be required in the future, including comparisons of this Scottish material with the other Japanese photographs in the two volumes held by the Victoria and Albert

Museum and the Canadian institution to confirm the provenance of these photographs and their context in Lord Elgin's mission.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to quote the comments on the mission to Japan by the private secretary of the eighth Lord Elgin, Laurence Oliphant, and the eighth Lord Elgin, in his letter to his wife Mary Louisa Countess of Elgin. Oliphant reported:

The 26th August 1858 will be a date long to be remembered by all of us who shared in the singular and interesting proceedings of that day ; but it will be an epoch in the history of the Japanese Empire, and, in centuries to come, natives and foreigners will alike record with interest the anniversary of an event pregnant with such important result to commerce and civilisation.⁸⁹

In Lord Elgin's last letters to his wife from Japan, written on 22 and 27 August, he said:

A perfectly paternal government ; a perfectly filial people ; a community entirely self-supporting ; peace within and without ; no want ; no ill-will between classes. This is what I find in Japan in the year 1858, after a 200 years' exclusion of foreign trade and foreigners. Twenty years hence, what will be the contract? . . . my trip to Japan has been a green spot in the desert of my mission to the East. . . .⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Oliphant, vol. 2, 242.

⁹⁰ *Extracts From the Letters of James Earl of Elgin Etc. Etc. to Mary Louisa Countess of Elgin 1847 - 1862*, 121-122.

CHAPTER 2

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY BUSINESS RECORDS CENTRE

Glasgow University Business Records Centre

The Business Records Centre is run by Glasgow University and the Business Archives Council of Scotland. Documents, material such as photographs and maps, business and technical books and periodicals which concern Scottish business records, especially those of Glasgow are collected and are in safekeeping in the Centre. The centre holds business records which have been produced in the west of Scotland in the last two centuries.

The university started collecting business records in 1959 when the first Colquhoun Lecturer in Business History was appointed. This was Sydney Checkland, the first professor of Economic History and a noted writer on Scottish Industry. The collection grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s when many traditional Scottish businesses such as shipbuilding and heavy engineering collapsed. The collections now form one of the biggest collections of business records in the world, with over four hundred individual collections. Investigating the economic history of Glasgow, which has played the role of a major business and industrial city for two centuries, means that the collections are very valuable not only for Glasgow but also for Scotland as a whole.

Thirty three Japanese photographs were researched in the collection of A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd. who were merchants and engineering agents. An agent of this type took orders for ships, especially from Japan, and negotiated contracts with British shipbuilders. They dealt with all aspects of production; wages, materials, communication and labour problems. This was important at a time when Japan was not used to dealing with Europe. A. R.

Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd is still in existence and run their business in Myreside Street, Glasgow as steel stock holders. This collection provides a pure social history record on the relationship between Scotland and Japan in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Among these images, eighteen of them belong to one bound album which contains photographs of works such as the construction of ships and cranes which were ordered through A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd.

The others are individual photographs which also are associated with A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd. These include photographs dating from the 1860s to the 1960s. The photographs taken before 1945 have been particularly examined during this research. Plate. 5 was taken in 1863 and is the oldest image in the collection.

There are several types of photographs. One type was taken in Britain as a memorial photograph, such as the images of groups of people taken in a studio. The other type was taken in Japan and brought to Glasgow. This includes the photo card called the 'Cabinet Card' or 'Cabinet Portrait'. This type of photograph was taken in a studio as an albumen print and mounted on cardboard which printed the place of studio and photographer's name. People sent them to their friends or families for greeting, visiting card, or as souvenirs. The Cabinet Card was popular in Europe from 1854, when the French photographer Andre Adolphe Eugene Disderi took out copyright on the process, until the First World War. The cabinet portrait photographs in the collection were taken in Japan in the Western way. Such photographs and the custom of taking them were introduced from Europe and became established in Japan by 1880.

The overall condition of the photographs is good, even the oldest image, 1863, has no conservation problems other than the condition of the

frame and glass cover. The frame should therefore be maintained and cleaned to prevent any risk to the photograph.

Introduction

In this chapter, I would like to examine the provenance of the photographs, because the background of the people in the photographs sheds light on the beginning of modern Japanese and Scottish relations. These will be examined under six main sections; 'The *Choshu* Five', 'Japanese Students of the Next Generation', 'Scottish People who were Involved', 'Bound Album', 'The Other Photographs' and 'Two Albumen Portrait Prints'.

'The *Choshu* Five'

The seed of Japan's contact with Britain lies in this one photograph, Plate. 5. It shows five youths, who are: above left⁹¹: Kinsuke Endo, below left: Kaworu Inouye, centre: Masaru Inouye, above right: Hirobumi Ito, and below right: Yozo Yamao (see also Plate. 5a). The photograph was taken in London in 1863. At that time, it was strictly prohibited for Japanese people to go abroad. Three years later, in 1866, going abroad was permitted for the first time.

First of all, questions arise as to why they were in London in 1863 under such risky circumstances.

The five students belonged to the *Choshu* clan who, along with the *Satsuma* clan, were powerful clans who did not support *Bakufu*. This was the system of an organised government based on the *Tokugawa* family under the

⁹¹ See also Plate. 5a.

Shogun, who was the military ruler. This system ruled Japan from 1603 until 1868.

It is understood that the *Choshu* and *Satsuma* could not act in the central government which was controlled by the *Tokugawa* family. Thus the *Choshu* and the *Satsuma* clans recognised the necessity of building up naval power against the government. Kaworu Inouye, who was a middle-ranking feudal retainer in the *Choshu* clan, planned to send students to Britain. Four of the young leading members of the clan, Yozo Yamao, Masaru Inouye, Hirobumi Ito and Kinsuke Endo applied to join the group of students.

An interesting point is that it was Kaworu Inouye, Yamao and Ito who took part in setting fire to the British legation at Shinagawa Gotenyama with the *Choshu* clan a year before they arrived in London in 1862. They were already well known as strong exclusionists who did not want foreign interference in Japan and as nationalists who attacked foreigners or people who supported foreigners. Because of the situation of the *Choshu* clan and the members on the journey, it seems that their purpose was entering 'an enemy territory', and investigating the secrets of the latest British armaments.⁹²

On the other hand, the intention of the *Choshu* clan was to send young superior members of the clan to learn modern ideas and new knowledge from Britain in order to use it to act against the *Tokugawa* shogunate. The clan authorities gave tacit permission to go outside from Japan in 1863. The clan could not permit it officially, because it would have been treason to admit publicly to going against the government's rule. Finally, with such various ambitions and plots, these five youths, 'the *Choshu* Five', were dispatched to Britain in 1863 on board a ship belonging to Jardine, Matheson & Co. which was a large British or Scottish trading company based in Hong Kong.

The two clans had links with Thomas Blake Glover (1838-1912) who had traded from 1859 in Nagasaki and was associated with Jardine, Matheson

⁹² Hiroshi Imai, *Nihonjin to Igrisujin* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 1994), 69.

& Co. in the ship-trading business. He also exported gold, silver, and marine products to the West and imported arms. With his help, the *Choshu* clan bought the steamer '*Lancefield*' from Jardine, Matheson & Co. The company aided the journey of 'the *Choshu* Five' by this.

On at least one occasion, Jardines played a crucial role in this. . . . Arriving in Yokohama, they were referred by the British Consul to William Keswick, who secretly arranged for their passage board a company ship bound for Shanghai. There, the office staff, not understanding exactly who they were, assigned two of them as apprentice seamen on the England-bound clipper *Pegasus*. . . . In London they were taken care of by Hugh Matheson, who introduced them to many aspects of Western life and learning.⁹³

It is also recorded that the five students received guidance from Professor Alexander William Williamson of the Chemistry Department of London University College through Jardine, Matheson & Co.⁹⁴ At that time, only London University College opened its gates to all races without condition. In other words, this was the only university where they could enter as students in Britain.

Two other people who lent a hand were the Jardine, Matheson & Co. executives William Keswick and Hugh Matheson. Keswick was a great nephew of William Jardine who was the founder of the company. He arrived in Japan and opened the first Japanese Office of Jardine, Matheson & Co. in Yokohama in 1859. He remained there as a progressive Managing Director until he died in 1912.⁹⁵ Hugh Matheson, who was in charge of the care of 'the

⁹³ Maggie Keswick, ed., *The Thistle and the Jade - A Celebration of 150 years of Jardine, Matheson & Co.* (London: Octopus Books Limited, 1982), 161.

⁹⁴ Source : Imai, 70, Maggie Keswick, 161, and Olive Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912* (Hampshire: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), 139.

⁹⁵ Keswick, 37.

Choshu Five in London, had joined Magniac Jardine in 1843, and became a senior working partner.⁹⁶

It can be questioned at this stage why the *Choshu* and the *Satsuma* clans, whose attitudes were anti-foreign and aggressive, did business and had close links with foreign merchants. Furthermore, it should be considered why the British merchants approached and supported these clans in business even though they had an attitude of resistance toward foreign governments.

One explanation for this inconsistent situation may be that the relationship between politics and business was seen differently by Japanese people and foreign merchants. Although the *Choshu* and the *Satsuma* clans wanted to participate actively in the central government and its foreign trade, they strongly believed that Japan had to be protected from the power of foreign countries to avoid invasion.

On the other hand, the foreign merchants hoped to make Japan more open and to do more business in the Japanese market for their own profit as they had done in China.

It is pointed out by Hiroshi Imai that their one hundred and thirty day voyage and their experiences in Britain gave 'the *Choshu Five*' lessons completely opposite to their original purpose of investigating the secrets of the latest British armaments. Instead it became the turning point of their new lives. They had already been aware of the new movements of modern western power on their first landfall of the voyage in Shanghai.⁹⁷ The scientific and industrial technology and economic power of western culture went far beyond what those in Japan has expected. What they saw convinced them of the necessity of opening Japan, and learning and increasing Japanese progress.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 27.

⁹⁷ Imai, 70.

At the time they left Japan, most other members of the *Choshu* clan came to support exclusionism strongly, and in 1863 attacked Western ships passing through the Shimonoseki Strait. This was opened for foreign shipping by *Bakufu* in 1858. Retaliation came quickly. In August 1864, the allied forces of Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States attacked Shimonoseki, where the *Choshu* clan was based. Kaworu Inouye and Hirobumi Ito heard of this attack from the newspapers in London. They had already taken up the positions of anti-exclusionists, and they stopped their studies of military systems, politics and law in Britain, and returned to Japan. Due to this happening, although two of them finished their stay in Britain after only half a year, they worked to avoid war with foreign countries in Japan. They led the *Meiji* restoration of imperial rule for the rest of their lives.

Hirobumi Ito was a progressive who accepted Western culture and its systems into the new organisation, and who became the most important figure in the new government as the leader of Japan's modernisation. It can be seen from his career how he played an important role in the *Meiji* period. Not only was he four times the Prime Minister of the new government, but he was also the first Prime Minister in the history of modern government in Japan. Furthermore, he was also appointed Junior Councillor with responsibility for Foreign Affairs, the *Sangi* advisor to the *Meiji* emperor, Minister of Public Works, Head of the Legislation Bureau to reorganise the legal system, Home Minister, Chairman of a Bureau, Imperial Household Minister, Chairman of the Constitutional Commission and Head of the Privy Council. His portrait was printed on the last one thousand yen bank note in recognition of his contribution to modern Japanese society.

Kaworu Inouye became one of the most influential leaders in the new government. It was said that he was Ito's right-hand man. He served as a minister in successive governments. He was appointed the Minister of Public Works, Foreign Affairs, Agriculture and Commerce, Home Affairs and

Finance in the *Meiji* government, and later became one of the advisors to the *Meiji* Emperor.

The other three youths had spent five years of their student life in Britain, and later contributed to the modernised *Meiji* Japan by bringing in progressive British scientific technology.

For example, Masaru Inouye contributed to the Japanese Railway Network. He was in charge of the Japanese side of construction of the Tokyo-Yokohama and Kobe-Kyoto railways. The Tokyo-Yokohama railway was the first railway in Japan in 1872. Moreover, he guided the tunnel work which was solely undertaken by Japanese workers. He acted as a Railway Commissioner for over twenty years from 1872 until he retired in 1893. He died in London in 1910 during an inspection tour in Britain as a special commissioner of the railway department. Under Masaru Inouye's guidance Japanese railways passed from being dependent on foreigners for all railway supplies to building up their own trained personnel, railway workshops and technical expertise.

Kinsuke Endo returned in 1866, and became the head of the Japanese Mint. He died before he retired from the post. The last member of 'the *Choshu* five' to leave Britain was Yozo Yamao who stayed in the country until 1868. After several positions in industry, he became the Minister of Technology in 1880, and played a pioneering role in changing the viewpoints of organisations and their management, 'from the top down'. Yamao's industrial philosophy can be seen from his comment as a leader in the industrial world that "if no industry exists one need only train people, for they will develop industry themselves"⁹⁸

⁹⁸ the consolidated information of Checkland, 146 and Quoted in *Entrepreneurship: The Japanese Experience*, Electronics Industries Association of Japan, no.3, Tokyo, June 1982, p.10.

It is worthwhile looking at Yozo Yamao's career in Britain between 1866 and 1870 in detail. This is because Yozo Yamao was the first Japanese person who had a connection with Glasgow in person. Having studied in London at the University College, he moved to Glasgow in 1866. He was the first Japanese student who studied in Glasgow. He worked at Napier's Shipyard on the Clyde by day and studied at the Andersonian University by night. Olive Checkland refers to the fact that Yamao's family treasure the simple tools which he used during these years.⁹⁹ It seems that the close links between Glasgow and Japan started from Yozo Yamao.

Although the same image as Plate. 5 was printed in the book, *A Celebration of 150 years of Jardine, Matheson & Co.: The Thistle and the Jade*, as an illustration, the photograph in the Business Record Centre is probably one of the original prints which was taken in 1863 from the condition of the frame and the photograph. Because of Yozo Yamao's connection with the Glasgow shipyards, it might be surmised that the original framed photograph of 'the Choshu Five' was included in the collection of A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd.

Considering the background of this photograph, it is precious to modern Japanese history and the relationships between Britain and Japan. When the photograph of these five youths was taken in 1863, they were only between twenty and twenty-seven years old. The five figures who represent the modern Japan were described on the first historical voyage as:

There, the office staff, not understanding exactly who they were, assigned two of them as apprentice seamen on the England-bound clipper *Pegasus*. The young men had to work extremely hard - washing decks, working pumps and spreading sails, and all on a very meagre diet, so that, according to a Japanese account, they arrived 'looking like hungry crows.'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Checkland, 151.

¹⁰⁰ Keswick, 161.

At that point, nobody including themselves, could ever have imagined their important roles in the future.

Japanese Students of the Next Generation

Yozo Yamao was a pioneer student in Glasgow. Later, many students came from overseas and studied in Glasgow and other cities in Britain. However, it can be seen from the research of Olive Checkland that Scotland may have attracted the largest contingent of all students; from 1880 to 1914 some sixty Japanese students registered at Glasgow University and others studied at Edinburgh University and Andersonian University (now the University of Strathclyde). Some of them were working in the Glasgow shipyards at the same time.¹⁰¹

It could be said that many young people who later became leaders of various fields in Japanese industry and society were greatly influenced by Scotland and Britain, we have already seen the example of 'the *Choshu Five*'. The people in Plate. 6 might be seen as the next generation of Japanese to study in Britain. The people in the photographs will be examined individually later.

Knowing the background of the universities in Glasgow and the connections between Japan and Scotland at the time helps us to understand why so many Japanese students came to Scotland, instead of going to London the capital, at such an early stage in the history of studying abroad.

It was mentioned in the early part of this chapter that the *Choshu Five* made the ocean crossing through the introduction of Thomas Blake Glover to Jardine, Matheson & Co. Following them, many other Japanese students

¹⁰¹ Checkland, 140.

came to Scottish universities on his recommendation. The fact of the existence of Japanese students in Scottish universities and the role of Thomas Glover were shown, on the 26th June 1866, in the *Aberdeen Herald*, in a list of scholars who had shown special merit in the various educational institutions of the city. The name of one Japanese student appears frequently.¹⁰² Thomas Glover's role as mediator is also referred to in *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. From the early days in the 1860s when Thomas Glover was trading in Nagasaki, he sent a Japanese pupil, Kanae Nagasawa, to schools in Aberdeen. Scots merchants in Japan ensured that Scottish/Japanese university links were strong.¹⁰³ There is no doubt that Thomas Glover was the key person who presented Japanese students to Scottish Universities.

Moreover, apart from Albert Richard Brown's importance in Japan which will be examined later, the existence of A. R. Brown as the Honorary Japanese Consul in Glasgow between 1890 to 1913 should be mentioned as a reason for the popularity of universities in Glasgow. During his office as a Japanese Consul, he supported those Japanese who lived in Scotland. Olive Checkland regarded him as "a very active man, [who] certainly did act as a focus for the Japanese in Glasgow".¹⁰⁴ Also she recognised that Hugh Matheson in London and A. R. Brown in Glasgow certainly had connections with the academic world.¹⁰⁵ The Japanese students who lived and studied in Glasgow could get support from him both for academic and for private problems, and his services helped build stronger relationships between Japanese students and Glasgow city at that time, as well as later.

Although there was the substantial backing of Thomas Glover in Japan and A. R. Brown in Glasgow for these Japanese students, there was another

¹⁰² John R. Black, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo 1858-79*, vol 2. (Tokyo: Oxford University Press, 1968), 88.

¹⁰³ Checkland, 140.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

important reason which should be pointed out as to why Scottish universities, especially Glasgow University, attracted so many Japanese students.

The Scottish universities, since the days of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, had taught a wide range of subjects including science, political economy, political science and philosophy. The distinction brought by Joseph Black, by his work in chemistry and on latent heat, and James Watt, who was an innovator in engineering, had coincided with an enormous expansion of Scotland's industrial base and eventually, in 1840, brought a Regius Chair of Engineering to Glasgow University.¹⁰⁶ It has been indicated that the subjects taught there were the best for Japanese needs, moreover it could be said that the quality of Scottish Universities was the best in the world in subjects such as Engineering, Naval Architecture and Philosophy¹⁰⁷ which were what the Japanese people wanted and needed to learn.

Another academic advantage which made Glasgow a desirable centre for Japanese students was the presence of teachers, including William Thomson Lord Kelvin, whose research interests lay in the problems of the Clyde industries, especially shipbuilding. Applied science and technology were combined with the latest studies. The University of Glasgow was honoured in 1880 by a large number of shipbuilders, marine engineers, ship owners and others who wished to establish a lectureship in shipbuilding and marine engineering. The Chair of Naval Architecture at the University of Glasgow, the first in the world, was set up in 1883, to ensure the quality of the subject and promote Glasgow as the pioneer university in the field. This confirmed, for the Japanese, Glasgow's supremacy not only as a place to study a suitable subject but also as the best university in the world. Another more mundane reason for attracting Japanese students to Glasgow should not be forgotten. This was the cost of University fees. Attending university in

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 140.

¹⁰⁷ Adam Smith was formally the Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow.

Glasgow was less expensive than in London or other major cities in England.¹⁰⁸

It is recorded that Japanese students who came and studied in Glasgow majored mainly in Physics (Natural Philosophy), Mathematics, Engineering, Chemistry and Naval Architecture. Some Japanese students came for full degree courses and were resident in Glasgow for several years, graduating BSc, Bachelor of Science, and CE, Certificate of Proficiency in Engineering Science. Many came for shorter periods to study and at the same time to work in Glasgow companies to acquire practical skills. The attraction was that they could learn both theory and practice together with the latest knowledge.

The group portrait of Japanese businessmen, Plate. 6 taken in December 1912, includes some of these students. Taizo Shoda, who is in this group graduated from Glasgow University in 1916, and some other names in the group can be recognised as students.¹⁰⁹

The names of those photographed are listed on a separate sheet, allowing their backgrounds to be investigated. The front row from the left: M. Hara, J. Katsuki, G. Tarao, Y. Hayakawa and M. Hara, the middle line from the left: S. Kobayashi who was later in ship building in Nippon Yusen Kaisha which is well-known as N. Y. K.¹¹⁰; Renzo Yamaki who later became the President of Tokyo Marine Insurance Company and who was also the son in law of Baron Iwashita; Noboru Matsumura who later became the President of Yonei Shoten (Yonei & Co.) and Taizo Shoda who later became the Vice President of Mitsubishi Kobe Shipbuilding Co. Renzo Yamaki and Taizo

¹⁰⁸ Checkland, 140-141.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 166.

¹¹⁰ Nippon Yusen Kaisha - the Japan Mail Steamship Company; The N. Y. K. was established in 1885. Mitsubishi, which was found by Yataro Iwasaki and became the first shipbuilding company in Japan merged with a government-sponsored concern to form a new company, the N. Y. K. which is well-known as N. Y. K. lines. Therefore, the company was run under the control of Japanese government and Mitsubishi group. At one period, the N. Y. K. was the biggest shipbuilding company and made a monopoly of the shipping industry in Japan.

Shoda were related to the Iwasaki family who established the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu*¹¹¹ - group companies. The top line from the left: K. Tomita and H. Kuge.

More details are recorded about Taizo Shoda than the rest. Having spent seven years in Glasgow, Shoda graduated from Glasgow University in 1916 as a BSc and at the same time served his apprenticeship with David Rowan who was an engineer. He later became not only the Vice President of the Mitsubishi Kobe Shipbuilding Co. but also had a distinguished career in Japan as an aero engine designer.¹¹²

Shigeya Kondo, Plate. 7, studied at Glasgow University in similar circumstances to Taizo Shoda. It can be seen that people who became executives for Mitsubishi group had frequently been sent to Glasgow to study. It was the same year that Kondo left Glasgow after studying that Shoda came to Glasgow. Kondo received a BSc in Engineering from the University of Glasgow in 1909. He was the son of the President of Nippon Ysen Kaisha and later became a Baron. The photograph was taken in Tokyo in 1912. It appears from the couple's costume, especially the young lady's Kimono, that this is a wedding memento. It is also handwritten on the back of photograph, Plate. 7a; 'with the best wish from Shigeya & Nobu Kondo. 1912'.

Considering the relationships between the Japanese students and the Scottish who accepted Japanese students, it could generally be said that they made good connections with each other.

¹¹¹ Manmos financial and industrial enterprise grouping which was founded 1870s. Between 1946 and 1950, the Mitsubishi group controlled 209 companies from financial banking, oil, heavy industry, insurance, estate, paper, motors until gas. (information from *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*)

¹¹² Checkland, 142, 152.

Plate. 8 has been identified as the portrait of Sidzuko Iwasaki, who was the member of Iwasaki family who founded the Mitsubishi group. The handwriting dedication on the back of the photograph reads, Plate. 8a, 'To Mrs. Brown with compliments from Sidzuko Iwasaki'. In this case, she had sent her portrait to the wife of Albert Richard Brown from Japan. From this, it could be said that there were good relationships not only between men as business partner but also between families as friends.

The photograph of Kondo also suggests this fact. The photograph was taken at his wedding and sent probably to A. R. Brown. They kept in touch with each other for at least three years after he left Glasgow.

The man in Plate. 9 also sent his portrait to A. R. Brown personally. It was taken on 30th June 1903 in Tokyo. From his handwriting which is on the back of the photograph, Plate. 9a; Captain A. R. Brown from M. Fujimori. . . , it is probable that he was a crew member of *Meiji Maru* or related to the project of the *Meiji Maru*.¹¹³

Scottish people who were involved

Thomas Blake Glover (1838-1912)

It could be said that Thomas Blake Glover, Plates. 10 and 11, sitting on the right, was one of the most famous and successful merchants from the period just after the opening of Japan in 1859. It has been mentioned that there were many British-owned and managed enterprises operating in nineteenth-century Asia. These were the conduits for British investment in the region

¹¹³ On the *Meiji Maru* is mentioned later in 'Bound Album'.

and for British trade. Thomas Glover is one of the most important people who was involved in these Asian countries.¹¹⁴

Thomas Glover was born at Fraserburgh, near Aberdeen in Scotland, the son of a naval officer. He worked as a clerk in Aberdeen. He travelled to Shanghai and in 1859 started to work under Kenneth Ross Mackenzie the manager of the Nagasaki branch of Jardine, Matheson & Co.. In 1862, he founded the firm of Glover & Co. in Nagasaki. Glover exported tea, gold, silver, and marine products to the West and imported ships and arms, and worked in ship-trading for Jardine, Matheson & Co.. He sold twenty four warships, some of which were made in Aberdeen or some of which were second-hand, to Japan during the years 1864 -1868. Although his Osaka and Kobe offices later went bankrupt in the *Meiji* Restoration in 1868, Glover himself remained active, and when the Takashima steam coal-mines¹¹⁵ became the property of Mitsubishi in 1881, he became an adviser to the company in its dealings with foreigners. He could be categorised as one of the distinctive British merchants who became involved in domestic Japanese manufacturing or extractive industry.

As a result of his contribution to Japan, he was the first foreigner to be awarded the Order of the Rising Sun¹¹⁶ in Japan. His name is also commemorated by his house, a wood-frame, Western style mansion in Nagasaki, which is a well known major tourist spot which still attracts more than two million visitors a year. There are other interesting episodes about him. He was an interesting and unconventional character. He got married to

¹¹⁴ R. P. T. Davenport-Hines and Geoffrey Jones, ed. *British Business in Asia since 1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 9.

¹¹⁵ Takashima Coal Mine was one of the largest and most important mines in Japan which located on the small island of Takashima, south of Nagasaki. The first owner was *Saga* clan between 1804-17, and Glover & Co. joined management of the mine in 1868. When Glover went bankrupt, it was replaced by the Dutch company, Bauduin, and passed to Japanese government, Goto Shojiro who was Japanese businessman, Glover had partnership with him, and the end, it was sold to Mitsubishi in 1881. The mine was closed down in 1986. (information from *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*)

¹¹⁶ The second highest degree of honour in Japan.

a Japanese woman, Tsuru Yamamura, and had a son, Eitaro, and daughter, Hana, with her. Once, Glover took his son to England. It is generally believed that hearing the story of Glover and Tsuru and using this story as a model, Puccini made the world famous opera 'Madam Butterfly'. Also we can see Thomas's influence today on the label of the Japanese beer 'Kirin'. The design of 'Kirin', giraffe in Japanese, was created by Glover's daughter Hana from an idea of Glover's. The moustache of the giraffe was adapted from her father's trademark moustache.

The connection between Thomas Glover and the Mitsubishi Group, especially Mitsubishi Heavy Industry, have continued since he died on 16th December 1911. It was announced that the Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' offer for the purchase of Thomas B. Glover's house, called Braehead House, was accepted by Aberdeen City Council on 5th February 1997. The planned is to use the building as a museum in the future.¹¹⁷

Albert Richard Brown (1839-1913) and A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd.

As already noted, Albert Richard Brown played a very important role for the Japanese in Glasgow as Official Japanese Consul. However, his influence was felt not only in Glasgow but also in Japan.

A. R. Brown first visited Japan as a former seaman and navigator, Chief Officer of the British Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company, which is now P. & O.. At that time it was one of the largest shipping companies in the world. He was a participant in Japan's lighthouse-building program and an instructor of Japanese mercantile marine officers for the Japanese government.¹¹⁸ He was also appointed as the first Master of the

¹¹⁷ The Herald (Glasgow), 5 February 1997.

¹¹⁸ Information from William D. Wray, *Mitsubishi and the N.K.Y., 1870-1914: Business Strategy in the Japanese Shipping Industry* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984), 45 and F. S. G. Piggott, *Broken Thread* (Aldershot: Gale & Polden Limited, 1950), 360.

ship, *Meiji Maru* which was built at Robert Napier's Yard on the Clyde in Glasgow in 1873.

He played an important role not only for the Japanese government but also for Japanese private companies even though these companies were closely linked with the government. He became the first Manager of the N. Y. K. (Nippon Yusen Kaisha - the Japan Mail Steamship Company).

However, the N. Y. K. presidency did not become very powerful until the mid-1890s. Government controls set the range of N. Y. K. business activity and limited the president's authority in internal finances.¹¹⁹ Under this background of N. Y. K., it could be seen that Brown served the company as well as the Japanese government.

Having followed his career in Japan for twenty years, he founded A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd. in 1889 with George MacFarlane, Plate. 12. He was a consulting engineer and naval architect. In 1900 the ship-designing side of the firm was strengthened by the recruitment of George MacFarlane¹²⁰ as the Managing Director of the Engineering Department.¹²¹

The Agent mainly worked for Mitsubishi, and was given the task of purchasing machinery, encouraging orders for ships from the Japanese, preparing the designs, placing the orders, negotiating the contracts with the shipbuilders of Glasgow, supervising the construction, dealing with the day-to-day problems, accepting the finished vessel and if necessary taking care of delivery and organising a captain and crew to deliver the vessel to its owner, and negotiating the licence agreements on behalf of Mitsubishi. Moreover, this work was extended to being responsible for the specifications which were

¹¹⁹ Wray, 224.

¹²⁰ Gorge MacFarlane was born in Glasgow. After school days, he joined the engineering department of Messrs James and George Thomson, Clydebank, and after his period of training in these works, by his entering the service of the Cunard Company. Later he worked in Allan Line until 1891, and then he conducted a very successful practice as a consulting engineer and navel architect. When the British Corporation of Shipping was formed in Glasgow, he was their first chief engineer-surveyor.

¹²¹ Checkland, 292.

made out for the constructing of the shell of the ship, the design of the engines, which were fitted later, the pumps and distilling equipment and other auxiliary machinery.¹²² The advertisement for the company can be seen in *The Standard* of 1915 that /Navel Architecture & Marine Engineering/ steam ships, Motor Vessels and Dredgers of all types designed, contracted for, supervised during construction, and delivered abroad. / 19, St. Vincent Place, Glasgow/.¹²³

Such all-round tasks for shipping, with a need for attention to detail could only be managed by someone who had a full knowledge of not only shipping, trading and business but also the Japanese systems, customs and people. Men like A. R. Brown and Thomas Glover had all these skills and connections. A. R. Brown died in 1913 at the age of seventy-four; shortly after Thomas Glover, who died at the same age as Brown - he was seventy-four on his death in 1912. It is easily understandable why the photograph collection included people who were so important for the history of modern Japanese society, especially in the field of economics and industry.

Plate. 13, which was taken in c.1936, is not well known. However, it has been identified from the Plate. 14 in the collection that the man who is standing above left is Ronald Macdonald who was the Director of A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd., in 1961 at least. It seems to be a group portrait of executive members of a company intended as record. Unfortunately, on the photographs and a frame for one of the photographs no clues to identifying any members were included.

¹²² Information from Yukiko Fukasaku, *Technology and Industrial Development in Pre-War Japan* (London: Routledge, 1992), 50-51 and Checkland, 177.

¹²³ *The Standard*, London[?], Tuesday 8 April, 1915.

The Bound Album

As mentioned in the description of the photographs of the collection in the early stages of this chapter, the album contains details of the works which A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd. undertook between 1889 and 1969. The album consists of photographs of ships and cranes with typed specifications.

This album was presumably used as one of the official records of their work, since the album is bound expensively, in green material, with leather used for the corners (see Plate. 15). The album was made in Glasgow from the fact that the address of the shop which bound the album and the accession number of the album are typed on the back of the cover page as M. P. Laidlaw & Son, Stationers, Glasgow. The background of several ships can be found from this record and from publications which have been written on the history of shipping.

From the accession number of the negative which is printed on the images, the correct order of photographs would be Plate. 20: No 1328, Plate. 17: No. 1329, Plate. 18: No. 1339 and Plate. 19: No.1340.

Of the ships which are in the album, it can be seen that Parsons Marine Steam Turbine Co. Ltd, which is now NEI Parsons, and Mitsubishi shipyard obtained a lot of business through A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd. According to Olive Checkland's research of the business register of Parsons which related with Japanese business, it is clear that Parsons were supplying both marine steam turbines and Parsons dynamos to Japan from 1905. In the case of marine turbines, these were being fitted to ships for Japan being built on the Tyne.¹²⁴ The business between Parsons and Japan can also be confirmed from a Japanese business register. In the list of manufacturing licences obtained by Mitsubishi Shipbuilding, Nagasaki, 1904-14, it can be

¹²⁴ Checkland, 194.

seen that Mitsubishi Shipbuilding acquired the licence for the Marine steam turbine from Parsons Marine Steam Turbine Co. in January 1904.¹²⁵

The *Anyo Maru*, Plate. 21, was built by the Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard (9.1911-6.1913). The *Anyo Maru*'s name can be seen on the list of 'Parson's marine steam turbines fitted to ships for Japanese owners, 1906-1918'. The *Anyo Maru* was fitted with the steam turbines of Parsons Marine Steam Turbine Co. Ltd through A, R, Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd. in 1911. The ship was used as Messrs Toyo Kisen Kaisha's South American passenger liner.¹²⁶ Furthermore, according to *Technology and Industrial Development in Pre-War Japan*, it is noted that the first turbines that the Nagasaki engineers of Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard had a part in designing were those of the *Anyo*. It is also mentioned that single reduction geared turbines were adopted for the *Anyo*. The *Anyo* was regarded as the first Japanese geared turbine ship.¹²⁷

Another ship which appears in the album and which was recorded on the list of Parsons is the *Katori Maru*, Plate. 22. In the list, the *Katori Maru* was recorded as a 'Combination' N. Y. K. European liner and was fitted with the turbines in 1911. It used both turbines and a reciprocation engine, from the simple typed sub title in the album.

The *Katori Maru* was completed in 1913 for the European line. It was used as a freight and passenger vessel of 10,513 tons, and carried coal below deck in 1914 because of a loss of cargo.¹²⁸

It could be said that the steam turbine was not completely recognised as an established technology in those days. Due to this, the *Katori* was fitted with turbines and a reciprocation engine just in case. It could be seen as a trial period in the history of ship engineering.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 191. Source: Fukusaku Yukiko for the use of her paper 'Technology Imports and R&D at Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard in the pre-war Period', September 1986, p. 17.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 296-297.

¹²⁷ Fukasaku, 116-117.

¹²⁸ Wray, 430.

Parsons' turbines were used in not only passenger liners but also in Japanese warships. Plate. 16, the *Yahagi*, is one of the Japanese 23 knot second class cruisers. It was built for the Japanese navy as a warship. It is recorded that the *Yahagi* was fitted with Parsons turbines (4 screws), laid down in June 1910 and completed in July 1912 by a Mitsubishi builder and the machinery of Mitsubishi.¹²⁹ In the records of Parsons Marine Steam Turbine Co. Ltd., it is mentioned that Parsons' marine steam turbines were fitted to the *Yahagi* in 1909.¹³⁰ Although A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co. Ltd was not the agent for the *Yahagi* in the record, it is possible that they were connected to this business in some way because the photograph is included in the company's album.

In the information which is typed below the *Yahagi*'s photograph, typed H.M.S. (His/Her Majesty's Ship) is probably a mistake for the term 'H.I.J.M.S.'. This ship was built for the Japanese navy, and would therefore be registered H.I.J.M.S. (His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Ship).

On the *Suwa Maru*, Plate. 30, Tesuo Mimura, who was dispatched to America from the Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard to survey the application of electric welding in shipbuilding, was put in charge of contracting the hull of the 421 Gt. (gross tonnage) ferry boat *Suwa Maru*, Nagasaki's first all-welded boat, in 1920. From the aspect of the history of shipbuilding techniques, the important point is that the *Suwa Maru* and the 362 Gt cargo boat that was built in Britain in the same year were the first all-welded ships in the world. At that time most hulls were built with rivets which joined the two plates. Its quality is proved by the fact that the *Suwa* operated as a ferry boat for more than ten years without any problems with its welded parts. Also it is indicated that the *Suwa Maru* proved that the electric all-welded boat was

¹²⁹ Surgeon-Lieut O. Parkes, RN and Maurice Prendergast, ed., *Jane's Fighting Ships* 1919 (Britain: David & Charles Reprints, 1919) 266.

¹³⁰ Checkland, 296.

very resistant to corrosion by sea water, an aspect that could not easily be tested in the laboratory.¹³¹

On the progress of shipbuilding technology, it could be said that it is difficult to prove or change newly developed techniques because of the huge construction involved in the sea environment. Due to these reasons, new techniques are adopted gradually, and the results are examined at a risk. Finally, the completed technology which has been confirmed as effective and safe takes over the past methods.

From this point of view, the ships which were adapted to the latest technologies had a significant meaning for the history of the ship. These two ships were regarded as the result of the latest progressive technology of shipbuilding at that time, not only in Japan but also in the whole world. The history of shipbuilding in the early twentieth century, the turning point of shipbuilding technology and the first experiments with new technology, can be seen in these ships.

An unidentified ship can be seen on Plate. 26 and a close-up of it on Plate. 27. From the connection with other photographs of ships, it is possible that the owner of the ship might be the Mitsubishi Co. or the N. Y. K.. The exact company could be identified from the year of the photographs. The port where the photograph was taken might be Shanghai in China. Two possible reasons are firstly that the junks which could not be seen in Japan or even in Hong Kong at that time. In Shanghai, junks were still used in the port. Another reason is that by the mid-1870s the ships of Mitsubishi Co. were serving the Yokohama-Shanghai route.

¹³¹ Fukasaku, 125.

Other photographs in the album are images of giant cranes. They can be identified as the cranes which are used for constructing ships. The steam floating crane was used for lifting large parts of ships, such as engines and boilers. This steam floating crane was made for the Kobe Works. Parts of the crane were made in Glasgow, brought to Kobe in Japan and reconstructed there, whereas the cranes were ordered as equipment for the shipyard to build ships in Japan. The section in Plates. 18 and 19 was assembled under the crane's part as a motor for lifting.

The crane, Plate. 25, can be identified as a fully finished 60 Ton Steam floating crane. From the typed record, it can be seen that the crane was tested with up to 75 tons on 23rd October in 1913. Additional to the photographs, it is also clear that the 60 ton crane was used on the 9th April in 1914.

The other crane in Plates. 28 and 29 is a 150 ton giant. It was tested with at least 180 ton in December 1909. From the landscape of the testing stage, the photograph seems to have been taken in Glasgow. In the typed information, it is mentioned that the 100 ton tripod sheer-leg would be dismantled and sent to the Kobe Works. Due to this comment, it can be guessed that this work was undertaken for the Kobe works. In *Jane's Fighting Ships 1919*, it was noted that the Kobe Yard already had one 100-ton sheer-leg in 1919.¹³² As equipment which was made for a Japanese shipyard, Plate. 23 is also given. It is a shipyard gantry, which provided support for ships being constructed within it. The location can be recognised as Japan from the scenery.

It has been suggested that the business registration of the giant cranes show us the future plans of the Kobe Works. They planned to make large ships in Japan by themselves by preparing ship-making machines instead of buying them in Britain. It was not long after this that the Mitsubishi shipyard began to make and sell their ships to the world ship market.

¹³² Parkes and Prendergast, ed., 251.

The Other Photographs

Plates. 34 and 35 are both images of the *Meiji Maru*. Plate. 34 is the photograph of a painting of the ship. It is the only colour photograph in the collection. In connection with the image of Plate. 35, it can be seen that at this point the *Meiji Maru* was docked in some small port after her working life had ended because of the poor condition of the ship.

The *Meiji Maru* was built at Robert Napier's Yard on the Clyde in 1874 and was their first vessel for the Japanese.¹³³ She was built along sailing-ship lines with auxiliary steam engines. The vessel was used as light house patrol ship for twenty three years and as training ship - ten thousand sailors trained in the *Meiji Maru*. She survived and is now being restored as a National Treasure in Japan and is in dry dock at the Mercantile Marine University in Tokyo. The *Meiji Maru* is the only surviving iron ship which used the sailing ship as a model in the world.¹³⁴

By the comment accompanying the photographs, it is clear that the insert is of A. R. Brown who was noted before as the *Maiji Maru*'s first Master.¹³⁵

Plate. 36 is the only photograph of a lighthouse in the collection, so it could be an important record for the history of lighthouses in Japan. On the image is included the printed comment; /KANNON SAKI LIGHT HOUSE/ FIRST ESTABLISHED IN JAPAN/ JANUARY 1869./.

A year before, in 1868, Richard Henry Brunton(1841-1901) came from Aberdeenshire to take up a post as an engineer for the Japanese lighthouse project. Because of the *Ansei* Commercial Treaties, opening the ports in Japan for foreign trading, the Japanese government was required to provide at the

¹³³ Michael Moss, *Clyde - A Portrait of a River* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd., 1997), 106.

¹³⁴ "Launching of The ninetieth year." *Evening Asahi* (Tokyo) 25 November 1964.

¹³⁵ Checkland, 253.

treaty ports to render secure the navigation of approaches to the ports involved.¹³⁶ The Japanese government engaged the Edinburgh firm of D. and T Stevenson to chart Japan's waters for the first time and, in particular, to build lighthouses. It is recorded that after having trained with two other assistants, Brunton left Britain on 13th June 1868 when he was twenty seven years old. He greatly extended the work already begun by French engineer Francois Verny. It is also known that from August 1868, when Brunton arrived in Japan, to when he left at the end of 1875, they built thirty four lighthouses, two lightships, thirteen buoys, three beacons to guide the sea traffic approaching the treaty ports, and by charting the Inland Sea and approaches to major ports, and after all ports in Japan became free port, for domestic ships as well as foreign ships.

This photograph was probably A. R. Brown's personal record, kept apart from the company records of A. R. Brown, MacFarlane & Co., because the company was founded after his return to Glasgow in 1889. It is also clear that he helped with lighthouse-building in the early days of his stay in Japan. Brunton secured the services of Captain A. R. Brown as the master of the lighthouse tender the *Thabor*.¹³⁷

It is surprising how speedy and well organised the work was, especially in a country unfamiliar to the Scots. From the date on the photograph, it is clear that he built the first lighthouse only five or six months after he arrived in Japan. He had to manage most of the tasks such as researching geographical sea locations, planning the lighthouses, and undertaking construction works. Most of the material for the wooden lighthouses was sent specially from Scotland. In the first stages of the history of lighthouses in Japan, there was no proper equipment. The superstructures including lanterns, machines, reflectors, reflector-frames and many other

¹³⁶ Ibid., 45.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 47.

items were imported from Scotland because of the connection of Richard Henry Brunton. It is probably said that he had already known which company made the best material for lighthouses and had connections with the people from his experiences in Scotland.

It could be said that the modern history of Japanese lighthouses would not have been established without Scottish technology.

Two Albumen Portrait Prints

The collection also includes portraits of the *Meiji* Emperor, whose name was Mutsuhito, in Western costume and the *Meiji* Empress, Haruko, in ancient imperial costume (Plate. 37 and 38). These portraits were originally taken by Kuichi Uchida in 1872. In the chapter on 'Yokohama Prints', this type of photograph and the particular photographers are examined.

The *Meiji* period ran between 1868 to 1912 until the *Meiji* Emperor died. The second generation of students who studied in Glasgow came to Glasgow in the *Meiji* period. It seems reasonable to judge that people who came from Japan brought these photographs to Glasgow as symbols or souvenirs. In Japan, it was common for a picture or photograph of the Emperor and the Empress to be hung on the wall until the early *Showa* Emperor's period (1926-1989).

Conclusion

I would like to note that many dates and information for this chapter are taken from Olive Checkland's detailed research, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji*

Japan, 1868-1912, which records the economic history between Britain and Japan based on the material of the Glasgow University Archive.

For a general understanding of the history of Japan, it could be said that Britain is regarded as one of the most influential countries in modernising Japan. However, there is no clear distinction made between England and Scotland in Japan. Generally, the word 'English' is used as the same meaning as 'British' in Japan.

Although some historical facts about Scots who stayed in Japan in the early period are well known in Japan, examining the background of these photographs makes us notice how greatly Scotland and Scottish people have been deeply involved in modern Japanese industry and society directly and indirectly. On the other hand, it is not clear how many Scottish people are aware of these strong historical links between Scotland and Japan and the great Scottish contribution to Japan at present.

The entire history of links between Scotland and Japan really starts from the first picture of 'the *Choshu* Five', and from 1866 when Yozo Yamao studied as the first Japanese student in Glasgow. This collection vividly shows us not only the history of a single company, but also the history of the links between Scotland and Japan.

Unfortunately, these photographs have not been available to the general public, except to specific people such as researchers of economic history. However these photographs could be used as a very valuable tool for investigating social and economic history for the future.

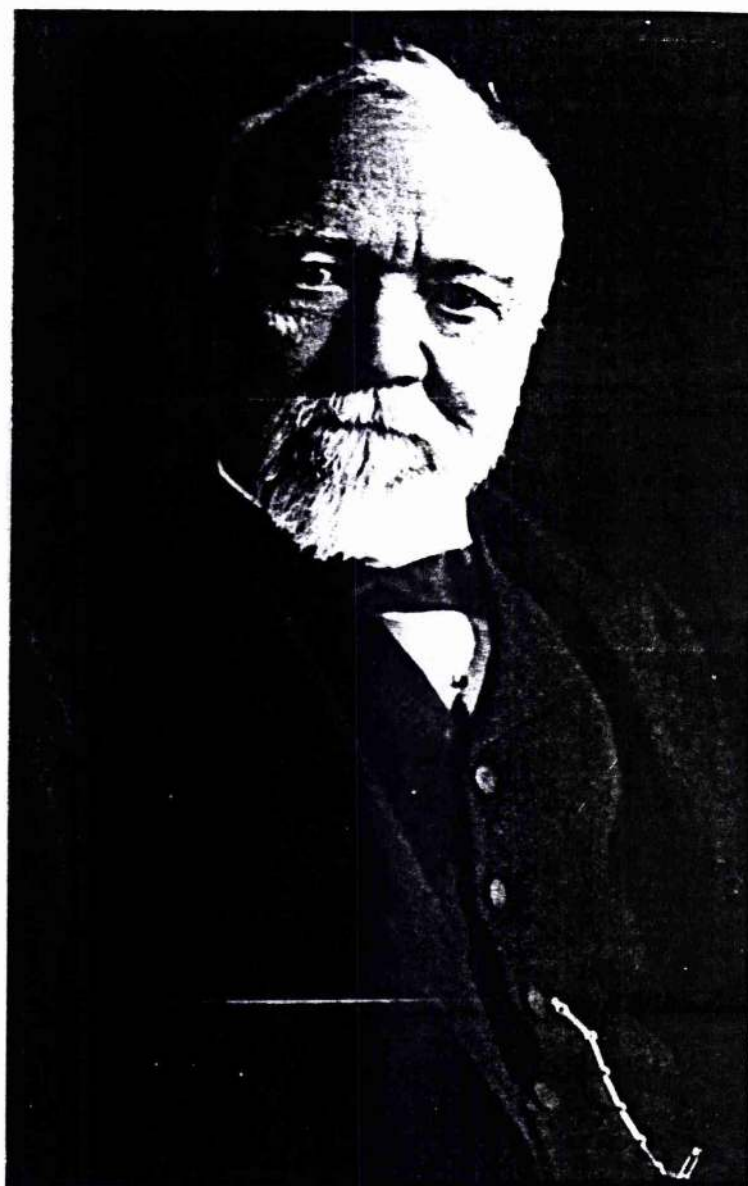


Figure. 22. Portrait of Andrew Carnegie.
From Wall, Joseph Frazier. *Andrew Carnegie*.

CHAPTER 3

ANDREW CARNEGIE BIRTHPLACE MUSEUM

Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum

The Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum was founded to commemorate Carnegie¹³⁸ and his origins in Dunfermline. 'The Birthplace Cottage' was purchased by Mrs. Louise Whitfield Carnegie in 1895, and was opened to the public in 1908. In 1910 Mrs. Carnegie transferred the formal title to the property to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust. Following the death of Andrew Carnegie, Mrs Carnegie submitted a proposal to be allowed to build a Memorial Treasure House. The proposal was unanimously accepted and work to erect the Memorial Treasure House commenced in 1925. The linked buildings were formally opened on the 28th June, 1928.¹³⁹

The collections of the Museum include objects, documents and publications which relate to Andrew Carnegie's life, his philanthropic works, and the continuing works of the Carnegie Foundations in Britain and the United States. The museum details the history of Carnegie's business successes and commemorates his enormous contribution to American economic history.

Andrew Carnegie (1835 - 1919)

Many people think that Carnegie was an American millionaire because of his success and renown in America. It might be useful to trace his life briefly to ascertain the true facts.

¹³⁸ See Fig. 22.

¹³⁹ Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, and Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Memorial, *Report & Accounts for 1996* (Dunfermline, Fife: privately printed, 1996), 57.

Andrew Carnegie was in fact born in Dunfermline in 1835. His family emigrated to America, like many others at that time, when he was twelve years old. He started his career as a 'bobbin boy' in a cotton mill near Pittsburgh in 1847, then became a telegraph boy in 1850 at the age of fifteen. From there he moved to a post on the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1853 and worked there from the age of eighteen to twenty-one, ultimately becoming a Superintendent. After the American Civil War, he entered the bridge-building business and went on to found an iron works and a steel business. He rapidly achieved great success in his business enterprises and was a millionaire by the age of thirty-three. Indeed, even now, he is still regarded as the 'Steel King'. The many philanthropic works which were undertaken both by himself and by the Carnegie Trust have made his name famous throughout the world.

Carnegie's good works extended into many different fields all over the world, but were particularly concentrated in America and Scotland, his home country. The Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh was his first foundation. He established a board of trustees to manage the 'benevolent business' of a library, art gallery, concert hall and museum. In 1901 he created the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. With this, he endowed the four Scottish universities of St Andrews, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow with United States Steel Corporation bonds, with a value of \$10,000,000, or £2,000,000. This Trust was for the improvement of all academic areas and to extend the opportunities for higher education to more young people.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps his most important project, however, was the creation of free public libraries, 2,811 of which were located throughout the world at a total cost of \$50,364,808. Many different countries benefited from his generosity -

¹⁴⁰Joseph Frazier Wall, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 836-837.

from the Seychelles to Ireland, with the greater part of the provision going to the United States and Britain (1,946 and 660 libraries respectively).¹⁴¹

Andrew Carnegie's Round the World Trip

The Motivation for the Trip

Andrew Carnegie notes in his autobiography that in 1878: "the new venture in steel having started off so promisingly, I began to think of taking a holiday, and my long-cherished purpose of going around the world came to the front."¹⁴²

However, it is clear that this trip was not only for holiday travel but also for the purpose of confirming his philosophical belief in the Social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer. Joseph Frazier Wall comments that Carnegie departed for the Orient determined to see the world as an operating laboratory for Herbert Spencer's theory. "' Seek and ye shall find' an injunction given in quite a different context, now became an appropriate motto for Carnegie's tour".¹⁴³

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), a British philosopher, advocated the application of Darwin's theory of evolution to human sociology. That is to say, progress through evolution, both in biology and in technology, shapes nature and man.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, this movement of evolution always brings about an improvement, as suggested by the theory of 'natural selection' in Darwinism. Spencer's new theory caused a sensation, especially among the contemporary economists and sociologists in Europe, America and Japan.

¹⁴¹ Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*, 828-829.

¹⁴² Andrew Carnegie, *The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie*, edited by Northeastern University Press, with a new foreword by Cecelia Tichi (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986), 198.

¹⁴³ Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*, 365.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 366.

To Andrew Carnegie, who was not only a leader of American economics but also an intellectual man, Herbert Spencer's ideas of Social Darwinism were a great influence. He described his impressions: "I had found the truth of evolution. 'All is well since all grows better' became my motto, my true source of comfort. Man was not created with an instinct for his own degradation, but from the lower he had risen to higher forms. Nor is there any conceivable end to his march to perfection."¹⁴⁵

Carnegie's motivation for the round the world trip was to confirm with his own eyes whether the theory actually worked in the real world. He even absented himself from his business for six months.

The Diary of the Round the World Trip

Carnegie, as an early traveller to Japan, made an important contribution to contemporary knowledge of the area. He noted in his diary: "I took with me several pads suitable for pencilling and began to make a few notes day by day, not with any intention of publishing a book; but thinking, perhaps, I might print a few copies of my notes for private circulation".¹⁴⁶ A book - *Round the World* - based on the diary was published in 1882 by Charles Scribner and Sons in New York, originally for private circulation (see Plate. 44). His publishers and friends, however, were impressed by Carnegie's commentary and persuaded him to have it published - thus making it available to a wider public. It appeared in 1884 and was reprinted nine times - each print run selling out.

Considering Carnegie's career as a writer, this book was an important step. To Carnegie, who thought publication a necessary activity, publishing his book must have been significant. His ideas on the value of books could be seen from his philanthropic works in supporting over 2800 free public

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 365.

¹⁴⁶ Carnegie, *The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie*, 197.

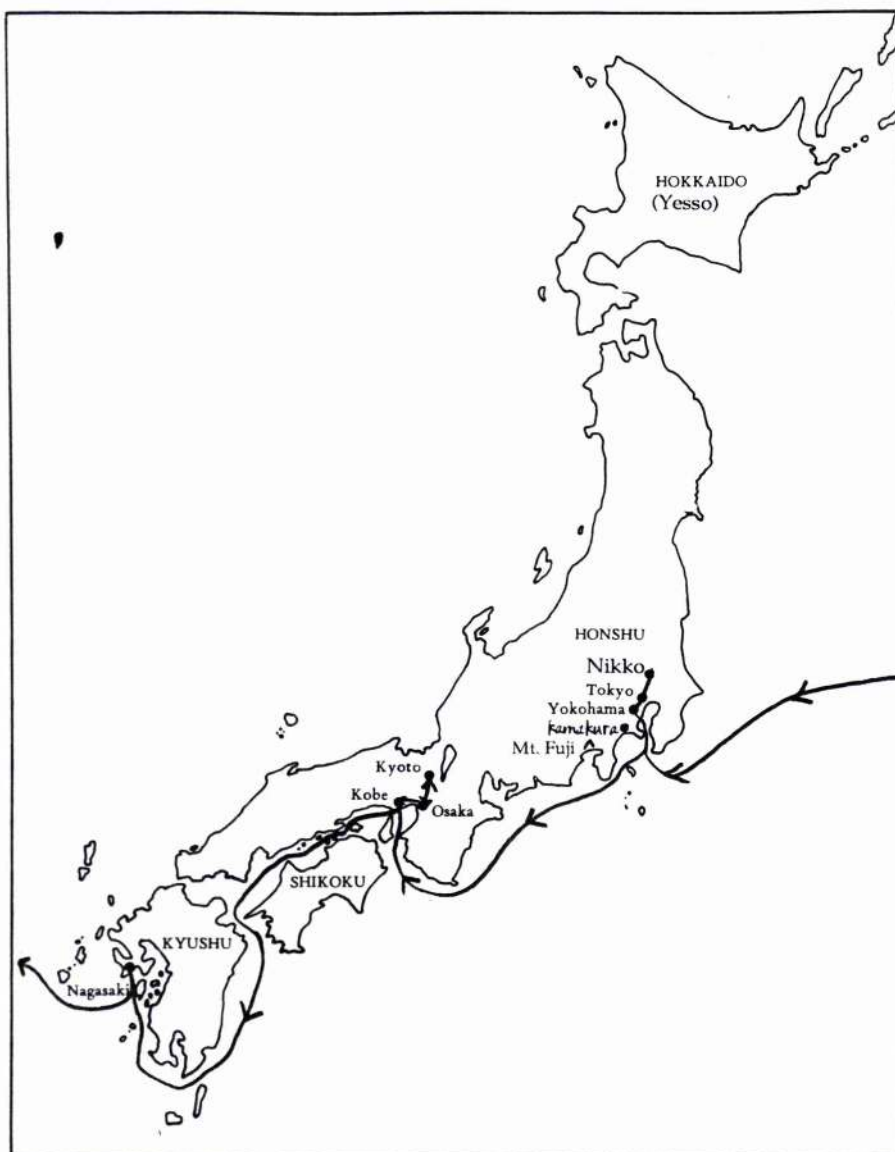


Figure. 23. Map; Japan with the names of the main places which appear in the Carnegie albums, and the route of his Japanese trip.

Schedule: Round the World Trip (Japan)

15th November 1878		arrived at Yokohama
20th	"	went to Tokyo
?	"	visited Kamakura, Shiba, Nikko
27th	"	left Yokohama for Kobe
		by the old steamer <i>Costa Rica</i>
30th	"	left Kobe for sailing Nagasaki
2nd December	"	arrived the harbour of Nagasaki
3rd	"	left Nagasaki for China

libraries. The book also gave real information and new knowledge about the countries which he visited, including Japan, to the readers of the time.

Tracing the Round the World Trip

New York - Yokohama, Japan

Carnegie started out from New York on 12th October 1878, travelling across country to arrive in San Francisco on 24th October. He and his companion John Vandervort, known as 'Vandy', set sail in the *S. S. Belgic*, arriving in Yokohama Bay twenty three days later.

Japan¹⁴⁷

As so many others before and since, Andrew Carnegie was captivated by the image of Mt. Fuji (Plates. 147 and 169), and he mentions the beauty of the mountain again and again in his diary: "Whenever we go, Fusi-yama looks down [on] us. What a beautiful cone it is, and how grandly it pierces the heavens, its summit clad with perpetual snow! . . . Thousands of pilgrims flock to it annually from all parts of the Empire, for it is their sacred mount and the gods reward such as worship at this shrine".¹⁴⁸ As Mt. Fuji is the most symbolic of all Japanese object, he also received an impression of a beautiful and pure spiritual mountain. Many images of Mt. Fuji were taken by photographers and sold. Carnegie bought a studio photograph of a pilgrim on the mountain (Plate. 62).

Like most European visitors, Carnegie found the sights of Japan startling, notably the rickshaws (Plates. 95, 151, 199 and 205), *kagokaki* (palanquin bearers) (Plates. 127 and 137) and fishmongers (Plates. 86 and 87). He noted in his diary "No country I have visited till now has proved as

¹⁴⁷ See Fig. 23.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew Carnegie, *Round the World* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), 58.

strange as I had imagined it; the country obtains here. All is so far beyond what I had pictured it."¹⁴⁹

Surprisingly for a business man, his diary details only one visit to a commercial factory during his stay. He visited the tea factory of Messrs Walsh Hall & Co. of Yokohama, commenting: "We saw many hundreds of women and girls working in the factories. . . . Green tea of the natural colour could not be sold in the American market. No, we insist upon having a 'prettier green' and we are accommodated, of course."¹⁵⁰

They arrived in Yokohama on the morning of the 20th of November, and then went to Tokyo. He described the hotel where they stayed in Tokyo as adapted to the European style and noted with irony that; "It is the same with food. The hotel where we are rejoices in a French cook, expressly imported, and every night we have parties of wealthy Japanese dining at this Tokio Delmonico's."¹⁵¹

According to his diary, Carnegie visited Kamakura, Shiba and Nikko during his stay in Tokyo. These places were common spots to visit, especially for foreigners visiting Japan. At that time, a special passport document was required for all foreigners, except diplomats, who travelled outside the limits set by the international treaties. This was a relic of the days of Japanese xenophobia, when it was considered dangerous to allow the 'barbarians' any rights of access.

Visitors were unusual even in permitted areas and attracted attention. In his diary, on 23rd, Carnegie noted that he and 'Vandy' walked through the principal street of Tokyo from end to end, a distance of three miles. He mentions that "Our appearance attracted such crowds wherever we stopped at a shop, . . .".¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 39.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁵² Carnegie, *Round the World*, 51-52.

On visiting an arsenal at the invitation of his friend Captain Totaki, he observed: "It is finely situated on the bay about fifteen miles below Yokohama, and is quite extensive, having good shops filled with modern tools. Several ships have already been built here, . . . Japan, you see, is ambitious. All the officials, foremen, and mechanics, are natives, and these have proved their ability in every department. The [high] wages paid surprise us."¹⁵³ It might be said that he viewed the arsenal as a philanthropic businessman.

On the 27th, they moved to the West in order to leave Japan from Nagasaki. On the voyage they stopped at Kobe. Carnegie mentions the railway which had just been opened on the Tokyo (Shinbashi) - Yokohama line in 1872. Although he did not note his journey in detail, we can surmise that he went to Kyoto by railway from his note that "At Kiobe the steamer lay for twenty-four hours, and this enabled us to run up by rail to Kioto"¹⁵⁴. It is possible that Plates. 101 and 136 are views of the Yokohama railway station. One of these was probably taken on its opening day because it shows many Japanese national flags and celebration lanterns.

They travelled on the old steamer *Costa Rica*. He noted that the steamer now belonged "to the Japanese Company, which recently purchased this and other boats from the Pacific Mail Company".¹⁵⁵ Such snippets of information show that Andrew Carnegie observed and analysed Japan's main industry, merchant factories, shipping and railways with sharp eyes for a traveller on such a short tour.

Together with Mt. Fuji, the inland sea of Japan was the most attractive part of Japan to Andrew Carnegie. This might be because the Japanese landscape was so unspoiled and so completely different to the places where he had been. During his three days voyage from Kobe to Nagasaki, he wrote

¹⁵³ Carnegie, *Round the World*, 55.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

of his impressions and in praise of the beauty of the inland sea: "Many a rich experience which seemed grand enough never to fade from the memory may pass into oblivion, but no mortal can ever sail through the inland sea of Japan on a fine day and cease to remember it till the day he dies. It deserves its reputation as the most beautiful voyage in the world. . . . We sail for three hundred and fifty miles through three thousand pretty islands".¹⁵⁶

Unfortunately, no photographs of the inland sea are contained in the albums. Yokohama Prints in the collection consist mainly of scenes of Tokyo, Yokohama and places near them. Besides if he bought them in Yokohama, this would have been before he had visited the inland sea.

They arrived at their last port of Japan, the harbour of Nagasaki, via the China Sea in December. On the 2nd of December, it is mentioned that 'Vandy' and he took a day off and walked through the countryside for the whole day.¹⁵⁷ He seems to have enjoyed the quiet and peaceful nature of Japan to the full.

Andrew Carnegie finally left Japan from Nagasaki on the 3rd of December after nineteen days stay. The best way to comprehend how he saw, and felt about Japan from the trip might be to use his own words:

Surely no other nation ever abandoned its traditions and embraced so rapidly those of a civilisation of an opposite character. This is not development under the law of slow evolution; it seems more like a case of spontaneous generation. Presto, change! and here before our very eyes is presented the strange spectacle of the most curious, backward, feudalistic Eastern nation turning into a Western one of the most advanced type.

That Japan will succeed in her effort to establish a central government, under something like our ideas of freedom and law, and that she has such resources as will enable her [to] maintain it and educate her people, I am glad to be able to say I believe; but much

¹⁵⁶ Carnegie, *Round the World*, 62.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

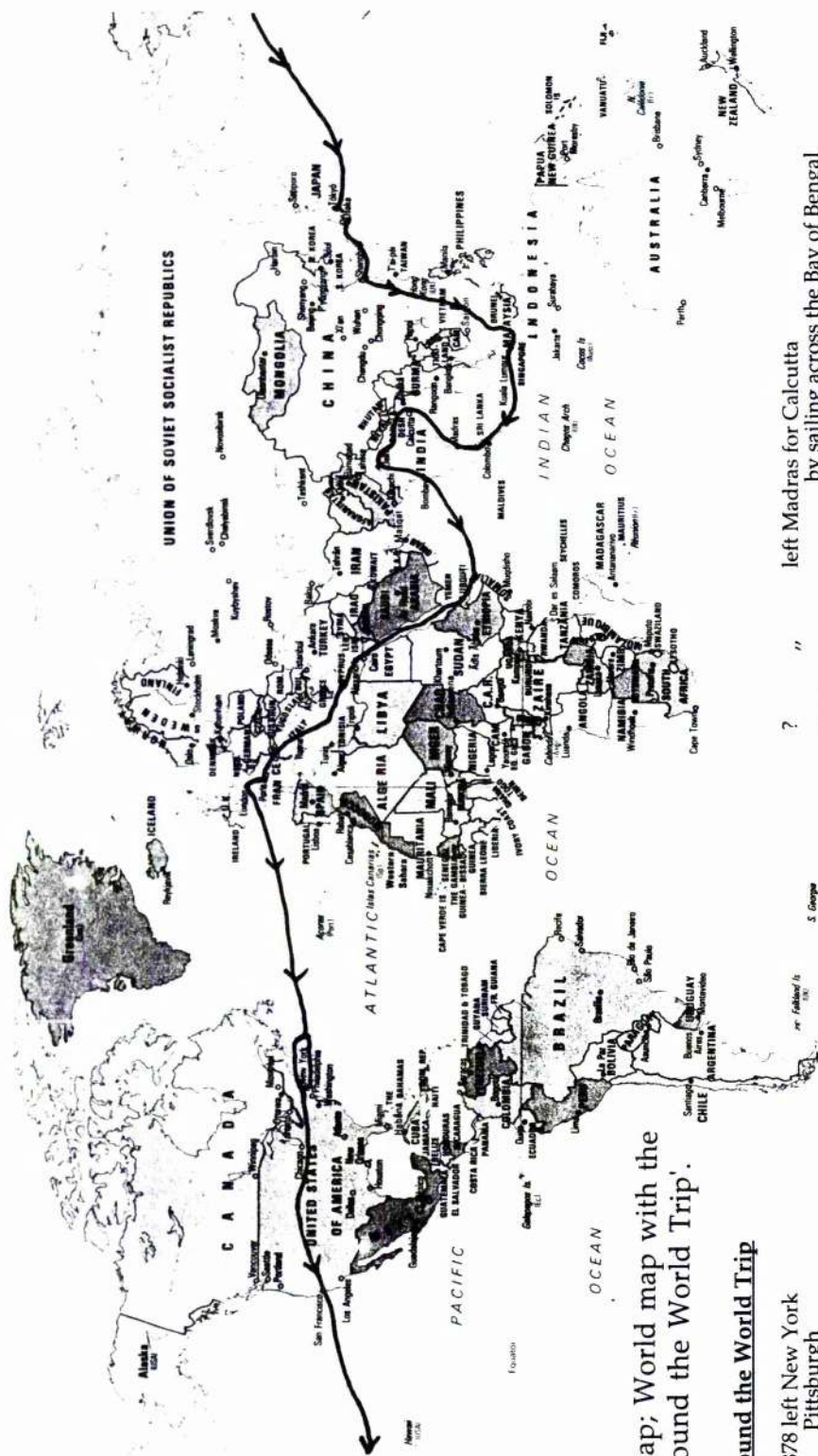


Figure. 24. Map; World map with the route of his 'Round the World Trip'.

Schedule : Round the World Trip

12th October 1878	left New York	left Madras for Calcutta
17th "	Pittsburgh	by sailing across the Bay of Bengal
19th "	Omaha	left Calcutta - Benares (Varanasi), Hindu Mecca
20th "	passed Nebraska and Colfax	by Indian railwa to Ganges - Benares
24th "	arrived at the harbour of San Francisco	Lucknow
15th November	left San Francisco by S. S. <i>Belgic</i>	Agra by rail to Taj
	arrived at Yokohama in Japan	Delhi
	(illustration II in detail)	en route to Bombay (two nights in sleeping-car)
3rd December	left Nagasaki in Japan	Bombay
5th "	Shanghai in China in the morning	Suez in Egypt by sail boat
14th "	left Shanghai by the mail steamer	Cairo - Cheops? - Sphinx - Cairo
19th "	Canton (Guangzhou)	Alexandria
24th "	Hong Kong by the English mail steamer <i>Teheran</i>	Sicily (Sicilia) in Italy - Messina
4th January 1879	Singapore	took Sicily enroute by sail
14th "	left Singapore - across the Bay of Bengal - Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	Messina by railway - Naples (Napoli)
15th "	Ceylon - Galle (little port) - Kandy - Colombo	The Bay of Naples (Napoli) by sailing - Sorrento
	(took a coach sixty miles to the railway which extends to Colombo from Galle)	Capri-Blue Grotto - Sorrento
21st "	Colombo	Rome
	back to Ceylon by the same way as on the 15th	Florence (Firenze) - Milan -Turin (Torino)
25th "	sailed for Madras and Calcutta	Paris in France
	by English mail steamer <i>Hindostan</i>	London in Britain
28th "	Madras in India	left on new Cunard steamer <i>Gallia</i> for New York
		New York in the U. S. A.

remains to be done requiring in the race the exercise of solid qualities, the possession of which I find some Europeans disposed to deny them. They have travelled, perhaps, quite fast enough, and I look for a temporary triumph of the more conservative party. But the seed is sown, and Japan will move, upon the whole, in the direction of progress.¹⁵⁸

Nagasaki, Japan - New York¹⁵⁹

Having travelled through Japan, Carnegie continued his great voyage (see attached itinerary). At that time this was a magnificent undertaking.

He arrived in New York on the 24th of May, exactly eight months after he set off from the Golden Gate in San Francisco. A month later, on the 25th of June, he mentioned in the conclusion to *Round the World* that he was writing the draft of the book at Cresson, in Pennsylvania, which was their summer home in the days before Skibo Castle with his reminiscences of the whole journey¹⁶⁰.

Conclusion

At the end of this trip, Carnegie seemed confident enough to comment that:

the whole world moves, and moves in the right direction-upward and onward- the things that are better than those that have been and those to come to be better than those of to-day. . . . wherever found, receives that truth best fitted for his elevation from that state to the next higher, and so and grows its own fruit after its kind.¹⁶¹

Among the countries he visited, Japan made a great impression on Andrew Carnegie, and this can be seen in the number of photographs which he brought back. Of the five albums which were made as a memento of the eight

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 73-74.

¹⁵⁹ See Fig. 24.

¹⁶⁰ Carnegie, *Round the World*, 349.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 357-358.

months travel, two are of his Japanese visit. These latter consists of one hundred and sixty eight photographs from just nineteen days in Japan. Also, Joseph Frazier Wall, Carnegie's biographer, comments that Carnegie's 'positive evaluation' of the three major Oriental cultures he saw was largely determined by the evidence each offered of 'moving forward' in the mainstream of progress. A prosperous nineteenth century industrialist could appreciate an approach like this. In this the Japanese were certainly the most impressive.¹⁶²

What attracted Andrew Carnegie in Japan

The titles of some photographs are in Carnegie's hand writing. Looking in detail at the prints which have been written by him will be one way of finding out what Carnegie had an interest in. A hand written caption suggests that Andrew Carnegie either chose the photographs himself or at least understood the images from his experiences in Japan and wanted to comment on them.

Carnegie noticed the blind masseurs and wrote about them in detail.

In his diary he mentions that:

One hears very often in Japan during the night a long, plaintive kind of whistle, which, upon inquiry, I found proceeded from blind men or women, called shampooers, who are employed to rub or pinch those suffering from pain, and who cure restlessness by the same means. It is a favourite cure of the Japanese, and some foreigners tell us they have employed it with success. I suppose, this climate being productive of rheumatism and kindred pains, the people are prone to fly to anything that secures temporary relief; but it is a new idea, this of being pinched to sleep.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*, 369.

¹⁶³ Carnegie, *Round the World*, 40.

Carnegie directs his interest to the reason why things were caused or why things and people and occupations exist and how they work, in short, always analysing the circumstance of the occupation or situation with sharp eyes. There is an image of '*A Shampooer*' in Plate. 73, which could have been taken in the studio or on an outdoor set. The slide door is leant against the wall for decoration, which is located in the common entrance. Also it was impossible to take clear pictures inside houses without lighting and windows at that time.

There are other photographs which have his hand-written titles. The photographs, captioned by Carnegie, Plate. 45 - '*The Mikado*', Plate. 46 - '*Her Majesty*' are the portraits of the *Meiji* Emperor and Empress. These photographs also appear in the collection of Glasgow University Business Records Centre. The two portraits were taken by Kyuichi Uchida in *Meiji* 5 (1872) and copied from the same negative. These images were the first ever photographs of the Emperor and Empress of Japan. The Emperor's portrait caused a sensation among the Japanese at the time because the *Meiji* Emperor himself was wearing European clothes and had cut his hair in a western style. When many people were still anxious about change, the Emperor himself showed his attitude in accepting and changing to European culture. This had a big influence on ordinary Japanese people. On the other hand, the Empress wears the traditional, eighth century *Heian* period costume in the portrait. This costume was, even then, only used for only very formal ceremonies such as weddings.

The image of Plate. 65 - '*Ainus Island of Yesso*' shows members of the *Ainu* race who still live in the northernmost Island of Japan, now called Hokkaido . Their situation was similar to that of the native people of America both politically and historically. Other Plates. 63 and 67 also show images of the *Ainu*.

Plate. 69, -'Wrestlers', is an albumen tinted print of two *Sumo* wrestlers and their referee, *Gyoji*, wearing traditional costume. Although it was taken in a studio setting, people were real *Sumo* wrestlers and *Gyoji*. The image of Plate. 70 -*Porter*, shows an attire unique to Japan. Both the hats and rain coats in this picture were made from dry grass. Some museums have examples of this rain coat which was brought from Japan to collections in America and Europe. The posed picture of Plate. 72 -'The Leading Tragedian [?]' was taken in the studio of Stillfried & Anderson around 1860-70. It shows the formal costume from the *Edo* period which indicated the rank of a *Samurai* when he went to headquarters or to meet with higher class *Samurai* or the *Shogun*. The image of Plate. 75 -'An *Ahetto*[?]' is taken to show a tattooed back. To the Victorians, the fact that men had tattoos over the whole of their body must have been an unbelievable sight. This would explain why this type of print occurs so frequently in British collections.

It seems to have been a mistake to have put the group portrait Plate. 92 -'Chinese Policemen' in the Japan volume. Carnegie must have noticed this mistake, because he put the caption 'Chinese Policemen' specially for this print.

Another subject Carnegie discusses in his diary in detail is musical instruments. He selected ten photographs of musical instruments (see Plates. 47, 53 and 56 as an example of them). Several reasons will be suggested why he chose them. The Japanese musical instruments are a very different style from European ones. Also music and its tools are regarded as one of the representatives of culture. Probably, during his staying in Japan, he often listened to the music and saw the instruments being played. In any case, he shows his interest in music and musical instruments or the people who played them.

The greatest number of photographs in the album are images of temples, architecture and monuments. Andrew Carnegie noted his impression that: "The most wonderful sights of Tokio are the temples and the

famous tombs of the Tycoons[Shogun]. There is much similarity in the latter, but that sixth Tycoon, at Shiba, is by far the most magnificent. It has been rendered familiar by photographs and engravings, at any rate no description would convey a just idea of it. It is gorgeous in colour, and the extreme delicacy of the gold is surprising, . . .¹⁶⁴ As examples of this see Plates. 108, 109, 142 and 163.

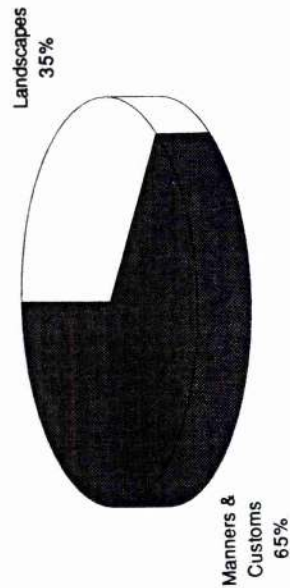
Another characteristic of the albums is that a large number of photographs of working people are included. Although he did not note much about Japanese industry as such, he selected more than thirty-three images of people at work. With some of them, it is difficult to categorise whether he selected the image by the occupations shown or as a vignette of people's lives. The views of working life show both one part of ordinary lives as well as the social construction or class.

Yokohama Prints frequently showed people at work. There are several reasons for this. One is that the sights and the manner of ordinary Japanese occupations were very different from European ones, and they seemed very appealing and curious to Europeans. For example, the style of carrying all goods with two big tubs and long pole and selling them on the road shows difference (Plate. 80 -'*Pipe Seller*', Plate. 81 -'*Plant Seller*', Plates. 128 and 129 -'*Fireman*'). Another reason is that it was one of the best ways to describe people's lives vividly and accurately as social history and culture. Typical examples are Plate. 49 -'*Vendor of Amazake*', Plate. 78 -'*Draper's Shop*', Plate. 120 -'*Geta Cobbler*', 84 and 184 -'*Hairdresser and Barber*', Plate. 192 -'*Hardware Shop*', 207 -'*Doctor and Patient*'.

In the photographs of the *Ainu* people, we can see that Carnegie also selected ethnographic images. Plate. 64 is a portrait of a woman who seems to be pregnant, taken in a studio. He also selected people of a wide range of

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 46-47.

Figure. 25. Chart; Major subject categories in the Carnegie album.



"Yokohama Print"

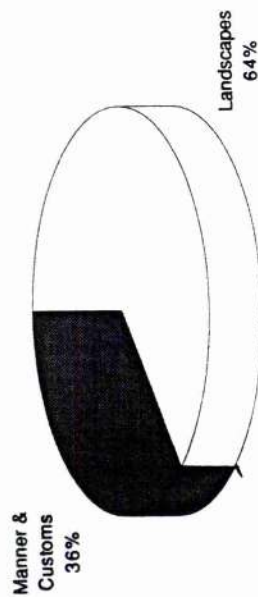
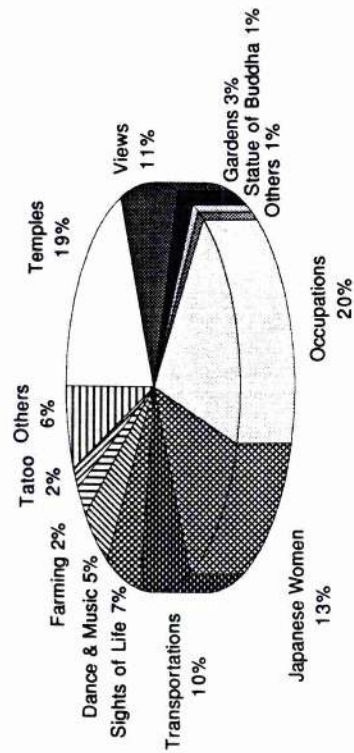


Figure. 1.

Figure. 26. Chart; Detailed subject categories in the Carnegie album.



"Yokohama Print": Proportion of subjects

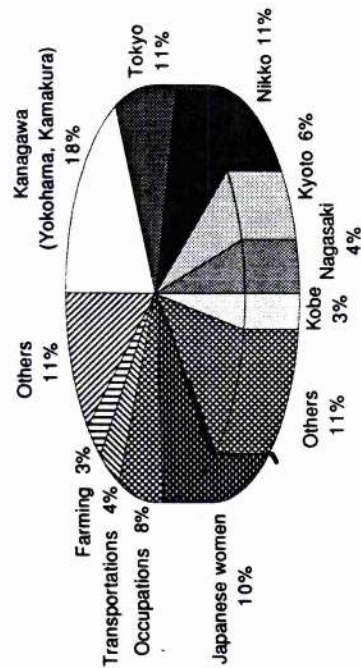


Figure. 2.

ages; babies and children (Plates. 60, 71 and 212), young women, middle aged couples (Plate. 188) and old couples (Plate. 189). Also, shocking and curious to Europeans, tattooed people are shown (Plates. 58, 75, 114 and 115).

Finally, analysing the photographic subjects statistically will be one way to see the character of Andrew Carnegie's albums. Comparing total proportion of subjects of Yokohama Prints with Carnegie album clearly shows Carnegie's taste. Figs. 25 and 26 as the breakdown of Carnegie's Japanese albums. Fig. 1 and 2, in the same page, give a breakdown of the main subjects of Yokohama Prints and show details of the subjects.

It can be seen from Carnegie's own selection of photographs that he places a greater emphasis on subject matter reflecting social life and customs of the country than is actually represented in Yokohama Prints Collection. Carnegie was greatly interested in the folklore, history and culture of Japan and his collection reflects this.

Photographer: Shuzaburo Usui

Shuzaburo Usui was born in Shimoda where Renjo Shimooka, one of the two earliest professional photographers in Japan worked. He learned photography under Shimooka and opened his own photo studio in Yokohama around 1887. Andrew Carnegie was a customer of Usui's in 1889. Although the front page of Carnegie album mentions 'Stillfried and Anderson', more than 60% of album consists of Usui's prints.¹⁶⁵ This means that Carnegie bought the prints in the early period of Usui's career.

We do not know if Carnegie bought Usui's photographs because they were cheaper than those of other photo studios. As has been mentioned,

¹⁶⁵ See Appendix 2 to refer the photographer of prints.

Shuzaburo Usui opened his studio next door to Baron Stillfried in 1885 and began selling his prints for half the price of Stillfried's. However, when Carnegie visited Japan in 1889 Usui had just started his career.

Considering the time, it is not certain that Usui had already begun to drop the price of his prints. I believe that Carnegie bought Usui's prints not only because they were reasonably priced, but because he also liked Usui's style.

This is not to say that the works of Shuzaburo Usui are not good quality, just 'cheap stuff'. As it has been mentioned several of his prints show the influence of *ukiyo-e* (Plates 133, 147). Carnegie bought many images of architecture from among Usui's photographs. Most of them are well coloured and show a beautifully solemn atmosphere, (Plates. 103, 105, 108, 160, 168, 170, 172). The prints give not only architectural information about the building but also how the photographer wanted to show the atmosphere of the scene, using slanting angles (Plate. 103), contrasting with nature (Plate. 105), and including the area surrounding the building (Plate. 108).

The Photograph Collection

The Background to the Photographic Collection

The collection comprises two leather bound volumes of 169 photographs - eighty six in the first and eighty three in the second. They are all tinted albumen prints in a range of sizes. The first album contains the title of the albums 'Views and Costumes of Japan by Stillfried and Anderson Yokohama' (see Plate. 40). Carnegie acquired some of photographs, about forty prints in the two volumes can be identified as the works of Stillfried, directly from Stillfried and Anderson.

The Provenance of the Albums

The question arises as to why the albums bought during his American period are in Scotland at all. It would appear that all the photographs from all the countries visited on the world trip were bound in America after his return. Yet the albums were recovered from Skibo Castle, the Carnegie family summer retreat in Sutherland.

There are several reasons for assuming that the albums were bound in America. There are a further three albums bound, China, India and Egypt, in the same style as the Japanese volumes and bearing the title /JAPAN./ "ROUND THE WORLD" / 1879 / ANDREW CARNEGIE / (see Plates. 39 and 41). Yokohama Prints were usually sold either as a single print or bound in elaborate Japanese lacquer covers. It is very unlikely that it would be bound in leather in Japan, as using leather for book binding had not yet been introduced. Secondly, the style of binding, the watermark on the paper, the leather cover and the joints are all identical. Carnegie himself has inscribed the page numbers (see Plate. 42), albeit with some inaccuracies. The photographs are categorised into subject groups; people at work, rivers and their significance for transport, landscape, architecture, temples, monuments and portraits.

These albums were not just souvenir objects which were bought and put away after the tour but also serve as an important record and a memento of his round the world travel.

Skibo Castle where the Albums were Kept

Skibo Castle, which he bought in 1898, was a special place for Andrew Carnegie and his family. It was of primary importance to Carnegie to own a home in his native country. In regard to their summer house, Carnegie mentioned that "It must be in the Highlands of Scotland".¹⁶⁶ Skibo Castle also

¹⁶⁶ Joseph Frazier Wall, *Skibo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 36-37.

became a special place to Margaret, the daughter of Andrew Carnegie as she mentioned in the Skibo Guest Book that "every year I leave Scotland & Skibo where my heart is. Margaret C. Miller, 1970".¹⁶⁷ It might be said that returning to or visiting Skibo Castle had held a special meaning for the Carnegies for more than eighty years until it was sold in 1982. It could be that he brought the albums to Skibo Castle to show his family, especially his only child, Margaret, and his close friends during his holiday. It is also assumed that he used the photographs in the albums for educational purposes, to tell his cherished daughter about foreign countries and people's lives there. Therefore, it might be said that the albums are quite private items which were kept safe in that special place, Skibo Castle.

The Albums as a Museum Collection

The albums were removed from Skibo Castle between 1985 and 1986 after Andrew Carnegie's daughter, his only heir, decided to sell the castle. The trustees decided to gift five albums to the Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum in Dunfermline to add to its collection.

At this time, the second Japanese album was rebound for conservation purposes and because of the damage to its joints. Yet, except for the joints, original materials were re-used without removing anything. Then, modern Solander boxes for the volumes were acquired by the Museum (see Plate. 43).

It should be noted that there is damage to some of the prints. This probably occurred through careless transfer of the prints to the paperboard (see Plates. 155, 161 and 162a) when they were stuck to cardboard to make the album. Otherwise the prints are in remarkably good condition considering their age - they were taken a hundred and twenty years ago - and their long journey from Japan to America and Scotland.

¹⁶⁷ Wall, *Skibo*, 168.

The first album is now also in a condition which means rebinding is necessary, because of damage to its joints (see Plate. 41). It is planned to rebind it in the next few years in the same way as the second volume.

These albums have been recognised as the only souvenirs of Carnegie's round the world trip. According to the curator of the museum at present there is only one other photograph, which was taken in Ceylon by the studio photographer W. L. H. Skeen on 23rd January 1879, in which Andrew Carnegie is shown wearing safari clothes and a hat alongside a friend, and this is registered as belonging to the collection which relates to the trip. It might be that there are some souvenirs somewhere in the Carnegie Trust in America. However, there are no records, documents or objects about the round the world trip except for the diary, book and the albums which we can find at present. From this fact, these albums are a very precious collection for finding out about Andrew Carnegie's eight-month trip round the world.

Conclusion

The round the world trip was an unforgettable experience for Carnegie and served to strengthen his social philosophy and modified his thinking to the extent that his Social Darwinism became more internationally acceptable.

It could be said that even for a man who stood at the top of the business world at that time, seeing and experiencing the real world directly was valuable beyond measure. After the trip, Andrew Carnegie noted, with great excitement, in his diary: "go and see for yourselves how greatly we are bound by prejudices, how checkered and uncertain are many of our own advances, how very nearly all is balanced. . . . See, also, that in every society there are many individuals distinguished for traits of character which place

them upon a par with the best and highest we know at home."¹⁶⁸ He also stated that: "I think, that the sense of the brotherhood of man, the unity of the race, is very greatly strengthened thereby, for one sees that the virtues are the same in all lands, and produce their good fruits, and render their possessors blessed in Benares and Kioto as in London or New York. . . ."¹⁶⁹

It might be pointed out that, in the 1880s, realising and being able to state this opinion with such confidence was enough to attract attention when generally Victorians thought that Europe had the most progressive and developed culture and society. The diary of the round the world trip is an interesting and valuable record, from the aspect of seeing the life of people who lived in a country unknown to Europeans at that time and for understanding Andrew Carnegie at a turning point in his life. Furthermore, this trip has provided historians not only with a well documented record of early travel in the form of the diary, showing us the details of early travel, but also with a stunning visual memorial to an important landmark in Andrew Carnegie's life.

¹⁶⁸ Carnegie, *Round the World*, 352-353.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 356.



MR HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.
Chairman Glasgow School Board

Figure. 27. Portrait of Henry Dyer.
From Checkland, Olive. *Britain's Encounter
with Meiji Japan 1868-1912.*

CHAPTER 4

EDINBURGH CENTRAL CITY LIBRARY

The Henry Dyer collection¹⁷⁰, which includes early Japanese photographs, is held in the Edinburgh Central City Library. The collection consists of items of Japanese art and Henry Dyer's souvenir items relating to Japan.

Firstly, the provenance of the Dyer collection to Edinburgh Central City Library will be introduced, and the general context of the Dyer album will be explained. We will look at how a man like Henry Dyer came to have the appreciation, the time and the resources to amass a great collection. Finally, the album will be examined as an example of the Yokohama Prints.

The Provenance of the Henry Dyer Collection

The Henry Dyer collection consists of many fine items of Japanese art. The collection was presented in two parts by Miss M.F. Dyer, the daughter of Henry Dyer. The first gift, in 1945, was of eight albums, nine *kakemonos*, hanging pictures, three *makimonos*, rolling pictures, and many original watercolour sketches and woodcuts, including the works of Kunisada and Hiroshige.¹⁷¹ The second gift, in 1955, included a manuscript in twelve parts, illustrated throughout in colour, an album and scrapbook of prints, drawings and miscellaneous writings and two Japanese orders and certificates of enrolment; the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Third highest Class, June, (1909) and a licence to accept and wear the Insignia of the Second highest Class of the Order, the Rising Sun (1882). This was presented to Henry Dyer by the

¹⁷⁰ See Fig. 27.

¹⁷¹ Edinburgh Public Libraries Nelson Recreation Hall, *Report of the Librarian for the Years 1944 and 1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Public Libraries Committee, 1946), 14.

Meiji Emperor and with authorisation to wear the same signed by Queen Victoria.¹⁷²

News of this presentation was recorded in press releases in *Bulletin* and *Evening Dispatch* among others. It can be assumed that this contribution was big and interesting enough to be news at that time.

Dyer's Album

The album of early Japanese photographs was presented as part of the first donation in 1945. It contains typical Yokohama Prints which were produced as souvenirs of Japan. The album has sixty-seven albumen prints which are attached to fifty-eight sheets of cardboard. The album is contained in a well-made Japanese black lacquer box with a lid which is decorated with *Makie*¹⁷³ and the inside of the box is decorated with gold powder. Although the box does not bear a craftsman's signature or mark, it is one of the traditional types of Japanese work. Apart from the condition of the lacquer box, which has cracks from lack of moisture (damage of this type is commonly seen in Europe and America where the climate is drier than Japan), the prints are in excellent condition. From their vivid colour and perfect condition, it is difficult to believe that these photographs were taken nearly one hundred ago.

The question of why these fine Japanese works of art were collected in the 1880s by a Scottish person arises. To answer this question, the life of Henry Dyer will be introduced.

¹⁷² Collection record of Edinburgh Central City Library.

¹⁷³ *Makie* is Japanese lacquer work in which shell or ivory is used in the design, and often uses gold leaf or powder for decoration.

Henry Dyer, C.E., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. (1848-1918)¹⁷⁴

Dyer and Education in Japan

Henry Dyer became the first Principal of the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo at the age of twenty-four. During the ten years of his principalship he made great contributions to Japanese technology as well as to the engineering education system at the college. He was highly regarded in the nineteenth-century in Japan.

Henry Dyer was born in Bothwell near Glasgow in 1848. He attended Wilson's School and was a very successful student there, carrying off all the first prizes. He entered the offices of the Shotts Iron Company, and in 1863 he was apprenticed to James Aiken & Co., Foundrymen of Cranstonhill, Glasgow. Following the completion of his apprenticeship, he studied for five years at Glasgow University and gained a Certificate of Proficiency in Engineering, and an MA. Moreover he gained a BSc which was only introduced in 1873. Henry Dyer and one other student, Thomas Walton, were the first to sit for this new degree.

When Henry Dyer studied at Anderson's College, today Strathclyde University, one Yozo Yamao was in the same class as him. They do not appear to have had a close friendship at this time but they later worked closely together on aspects of the Japanese education and political system.

Hirobumi Ito was Minister for Public Works when Yozo Yamao, returned to Japan in 1871. Planning had begun for the establishment of a technical or engineering school. It was believed that people who had studied abroad could help the new government to develop the teaching of science and technology to catch up with Western countries. The first priority was

¹⁷⁴ The details of his activities can be found in Olive Checkland's publication, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. Also his life is introduced in the article of "On the Trail of the Tartan Samurai..." *Glasgow Herald*, 18 July 1987. These two publications are the principal sources used in this chapter.

education, to create leaders of industry who would support and educate the next generation.

The first person who was connected to the Japanese government in these plans was Hugh Matheson, who supported the 'Chosun Five' and whose relation was Lewis Gordon who had been the first professor of engineering at Glasgow University between 1840 and 1855. Hugh Matheson in turn got in touch with the successor to the Glasgow Chair, W. J. McQuorn Rankine, to see if he could suggest any names of people who could help with the Japanese new college. Rankine replied recommending his most brilliant student, Henry Dyer.

Contributions to Japan

Henry Dyer, MA, CE and BSc arrived in Tokyo in 1873 at the age of twenty-four. His most important innovation was the introduction and establishment of a new education system, which combined theory and practice, in the Imperial College of Engineering in Japan. The college had been prepared for opening before teaching began, and British staff were involved in everything - from ordering materials and machinery to planning model laboratories and workshops.

Olive Checkland comments that "It was an extraordinary opportunity for the young British teachers on the threshold of their careers"¹⁷⁵ Henry Dyer, as the principal of the College, was the primary designer of the curriculum and the organiser of the courses.

For the first two years, following an entrance examination, students took a broad science-based course including English language and literature, geography, mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics and drawing. Six

¹⁷⁵ Olive Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912* (Hampshire: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), 75.

months in each of the following two years was spent in the engineering works which Dyer established at Akabane¹⁷⁶ with the other six months being devoted to theoretical or laboratory work at the college in any one of the seven branches of engineering: civil, mechanical, chemical, telegraphy, mining, metallurgy or architecture. The final two years of the course were spent entirely in the Akabane works or any other public works under state control. Another interesting point is that the course was free as long as students pledged themselves to work for the Government for seven years after graduation. Otherwise, the tuition fee was seven *yen* per term.

Both the course system and the resources of the college were excellent. According to Olive Checkland, the Imperial College of Engineering had some of the best facilities for engineering in the world. This was because the Japanese government desired progress in Japanese industrial technology, but there had been no modern facilities for teaching in Japan. The strong backing of the Japanese government allowed the College to be built and organised without financial problems.¹⁷⁷ Olive Checkland suggests that the young British professors who went to Japan to work prepared facilities in the way they wanted because even in Western universities it was difficult to build modern laboratories because of lack of finance.¹⁷⁸

When I arrived in Japan in 1875, I found a marvellous laboratory, such as the world had not seen elsewhere. At Glasgow, at Cambridge, and at Berlin, there were three great personalities; the laboratories of Kelvin, and of Maxwell, and of Helmholtz, however were not to be mentioned in comparison with Ayrton. Fine buildings, splendid

¹⁷⁶ The Akabane Engineering Works was established by Henry Dyer and worked as a practical and laboratory workshop for the engineering student. A great variety of subjects which had been supplied by the works are mentioned in a catalogue: steam engines, marine engines, locomotive boilers, pumps of fire engines, cranes and sugar-cane-crushing mills, and many mechanical engineering tools, as well as ironwork and ornamental railings and gate.

¹⁷⁷ Checkland, 85.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

apparatus, well-chosen, a never-resting keen-eyed chief of great originality: these are what I found in Japan.¹⁷⁹

There is no doubt that this special environment, the latest advances in the Scottish education system and excellent lecturers had great effects on the development of modern Japanese industry.

In Britain, at this time, people were concerned about education. It was believed that technical education should include both theoretical and practical elements. The theory of this education, called the 'sandwich' course by Olive Checkland, was based on the ideas of British people such as John Scott Russell¹⁸⁰ and especially those of the Scots. Scotland has been famous for its education system since the seventeenth century.

Henry Dyer himself trained in this way, working in a workshop as well as learning theory at Anderson's College in Glasgow and he knew just how important practical training was in engineering. Fleeming Jenkin, who was professor of engineering at Edinburgh University, also stressed the need for teaching in mechanical drawing in a report to the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1870.

The Scottish influence cannot be ignored. In the first few years of Dyer's principalship nearly 50 % of the staff were Scots, and Scots were one of the biggest foreign groups in Japan at that time. According to statistical research, *Kobu-sho*, the Department of Engineering in the Japanese government, hired the largest number of foreigners of all departments. In 1874 foreigners numbered a surprising two hundred and twenty eight out of five hundred and three foreigners who were employed by government in

¹⁷⁹ Checkland, 85. Quoting John Perry (who graduated as BE at Queen's University at Belfast in 1870 and had also been a research assistant to Kelvin at Glasgow) on one of the laboratories of the college, which was the teaching of National Philosophy by William Ayton.

¹⁸⁰ In 1869, an element naval engineer, he suggested alternating periods of theory and practice for technical education.

1874. The major nationalities included British, French, American and German. British engineers made up more than 80% of the total number of hired foreigners, four hundred and fifty British people.¹⁸¹ Therefore, using the information in 1874, when 50% of staff was Scots, more than ninety Scots worked in the *Kobu-sho*. Olive Checkland talks about the impact made by Scottish people in Japan by quoting that; "The Scots in their kilted tartan ceremonial dress were numerous and intriguingly conspicuous. They certainly attracted a good deal of attention"¹⁸² Annually they celebrated St Andrews Day in November, and in January they feasted the birthday of Robert Burns, their national poet.¹⁸³

An educated elite graduated in large numbers from the College, and many of them proceeded to further education in the West. Some of them became the next generation of Japanese students to study abroad. Graduating from 1879 onwards, the students who ranked first class were sent abroad to study and work as apprentices in places such as Glasgow, and did great service to scientific and technological advancement not only in Japan but also in Europe. After he finished his education at the Imperial College of Engineering and Glasgow University, Kaichi Watanabe worked for the civil engineering firm, Benjamin Baker, who were the designers of the Forth Railway Bridge. On his return to Japan, he worked in developing Japanese railway technology.¹⁸⁴ Rinzaburo Shiba also graduated first-class and worked with W. J. Ayrton, specialists in telegraph engineering, in Tokyo. Later he moved to Glasgow to work under Kelvin¹⁸⁵ on electromagnetism

¹⁸¹ Hiroshi Imai, *Nihonjin to Igrisujin* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 1994), 128-129.

Totally five hundred and eighty foreigners had been employed by the *Kobu-sho*. The British engineers were occupied more than 80% and totalled four hundred and fifty British people.

¹⁸² Checkland, 97. quoted from *The Daily Advertiser*, Yokohama, 13 September 1875.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁸⁵ Lord Kelvin(William Thomson) Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow(1844-1899) whose academic distinction was such that when he died he was given the honour of being buried near Isaac Newton in Westminster Abbey. On his

and telegraphy. He travelled widely, carrying introductions from Kelvin to German scholars. He succeeded to Ayrton's post, as Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Imperial College of Engineering.¹⁸⁶ Many excellent students later became lecturers and professors of science or engineering faculties at universities by changing places permanently with foreign people, especially at the Imperial University of Tokyo.¹⁸⁷

Henry Dyer returned to Glasgow in the summer of 1882 just before the Imperial College of Engineering was moved to the Imperial University of Tokyo. His service and influence on the Japanese technology and education systems had been enormous. Olive Checkland suggested the reason for his early return is that:

The confusion and changeover may reflect the political power struggle going on in Japan in 1880 and 1881 during which Okuma was ousted by Ito and his *Choshu* faction. Making the Akabane Engineering Works into a political football may have strengthened Dyer's determination to leave Japan.¹⁸⁸

The Akabane Branch of the Workshops was closed and transferred to the Ordnance Department of the Navy in 1880.

When he left the College in July 1882, the Minister of Public Works referred to the 'highly flourishing condition' of the Imperial College of Engineering in his address which was due to Dyer's 'utmost ability and assiduity'. The government accepted Dyer's resignation "with regret that

personal recommendation, Dyer, Ayrton, Perry and other excellent students or scholars came to Japan as professors. (From Checkland, 180, quoted from 'William Thomson Lord Kelvin', *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography*, 190-2.)

¹⁸⁶ Checkland, 145.

¹⁸⁷ The system of learning from foreign people, and changing places with educated Japanese is peculiar to Japan. Even the many foreigners who stayed had influential positions in Japan, but they were always an employee and Japanese people controlled the final or top post.

¹⁸⁸ Checkland, 269.

government should lose such an able, faithful servant, who has given satisfaction in the performance of his duty".¹⁸⁹ It could be said that the first generation of top class Japanese engineers was 'brought up' by the British teachers, and it was Henry Dyer who was their representative.

His life in Glasgow

Although having returned to Glasgow after such great achievement in Japan, Henry Dyer did not succeed in his next post. He twice applied for the chair in naval architecture which was being created at Glasgow University, in 1883 and 1886, and also for the post of Principal of the newly organised Heriot Watt College in Edinburgh. However, he was not appointed to either of them. Everything was very different from his Japanese experiences. In Japan, he received 11,460 *yen* per month as superintendent and dean, and also it is believed that he got a pension from the Japanese government. It has already been noted that the tuition fee for a term was seven *yen* for the College students. Looking at this, his salary was worth a great deal. In addition to this financial aspect, he had an important position not only in the College but also in Japanese and British society in Japan. When he returned, he could not get a full time paid post in Britain. Olive Checkland comments that: "It really was something of a tragedy that such an obviously talented man of 34 could find no job and had to spend his time doing voluntary work."¹⁹⁰ He was Life Governor of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College from 1886, and became a member of the Glasgow School Board in 1891, later becoming its Vice-Chairman and Chairman in 1914, but none of these posts were paid. Although, according to Olive Checkland, he could make a living from money he had accumulated in Japan and from some kind of pension from the

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 77-8. quoted from the Dyer Collection, Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Letter to Dyer, 25 May 1882, from the Department of Public Works.

¹⁹⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 18 July 1987.

Japanese government, ten years absence from Britain had obviously created difficulties for his future career in Glasgow.

However, this situation worked to the advantage of the Japanese people. As Olive Checkland mentions, he spent a lot of his time cementing friendships between Scotland and Japan¹⁹¹. Dyer and his family helped Japanese to gain residence in Glasgow. Moreover, in 1901, he requested that the Court of the University of Glasgow should accept Japanese as a permitted language for entry to the University. The Court accepted this, and in subsequent years, around ten Japanese students took the preliminary entrance paper in Japanese. His presence in Glasgow and his understanding of Japanese students was a great support. He also wrote publications which related to Japan and education, *The Evolution of Industry* (1895), *Dai Nippon: The Britain of the East* (1905) and *Japan in World Politics* (1909). What he did for Japan is seen by the fact that he was honoured by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor with the Order of the Rising Sun, 1882, second class, and in June 1909, the Sacred Treasure medals. Henry Dyer died in 1918 at Highburgh Terrace, Dowanhill in Glasgow, at the age of seventy, thirty-six years after he left Japan.

Henry Dyer's Yokohama Prints Album

The Provenance of the Album in Japan

The first interesting piece of information we can see is on the first sheet which shows an albumen print as a title page, and is printed /VIEWS & COSTUMES/OF CHINA & JAPAN/ BY/ BARON STILLFRIED/ YOKOHAMA, 80 MAIN STR. However, there is no image of China in the box. In addition to this, a hand written pencil note 'c 1880' is seen below the

¹⁹¹ Checkland, 185.

albumen print. From this information, two possibilities arise to identify exactly when Henry Dyer bought the album in Japan. Baron Stillfried had run his studio under the name of 'Baron Stillfried' from 1879 to 1883.¹⁹² Besides, it is known that between 1879 and 1883, he had run his studio at 80 Main Street. It is also clear that Henry Dyer came back to Glasgow from Tokyo in summer of 1882. Although there is a possibility that someone brought it from Japan just after Dyer came back to Glasgow, it is more likely that the album was brought by Henry Dyer himself or gifted by someone, and probably bought between 1879 and 1882. Furthermore, considering the complications of the business dealings in Yokohama Prints, it is possible that the prints in the box were bought from mixed photographers and studios.

The Album

This study was carried out in restricted conditions, without copies of the images, so only a brief account of the images will be given.

A first impression of the prints was that the album's owner had probably resided in Japan or knew Japan well. This is because there are images of real Japanese life and scenery. It is not a typical Western romanticising of the Orient. It seems that the person who chose the prints preferred images of manners and customs rather than landscapes, as only around one quarter of the prints are landscapes. The album includes various images of Japanese people. Even in the landscape prints, people occupied in their everyday life are seen. That these are very few duplicate images can be given as another characteristic of the owner. Apart from portraits of people, there are very few of the popular, repetitive images of musical instruments or dancing girls. In other words, it could be said that this is very well selected, compact album. This is the only album in a Japanese lacquer box which I

¹⁹² Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, ed., *Sai Shoku Arubamu Meiji No Nihon (Yokohama Shashin) No Sekai-Coloured Album Japan in Meiji the World of Yokohama Print* (Yokohama: Yurindo Ltd, 1990) 237.

discovered in Scotland.¹⁹³ According to Terry Bennett, the author of *Early Japanese Images*, prints in a Japanese lacquer box or bound with lacquer covers were the most common bindings for Yokohama Prints to be sold in Japan at this time.

A characteristic feature of the Henry Dyer album is its manner of tinting. The tone of colour is basically pastel, using pink, pale blue and sometimes pale green, generally the prints are well tinted in fine detail.

Identifying the photographers is difficult in this case. The manner of numbering, in Arabic numbers not Japanese characters, on the prints might point to them having been printed from the negatives of Felice Beato or Baron Stillfried himself. However, this could be confirmed only from the original images and many other detailed reference materials.

The Collection as Part of Edinburgh City Library

The Henry Dyer Album was displayed once in the 1996 exhibition of items from the Henry Dyer Collection. However, photographic copies were used because of the lighting condition of the original prints. Edinburgh City Library does not have any particular plans to exhibit the prints at the moment, and the library has not received any requests to lend this collection to other institutions. Therefore, it could be said that these original prints have never been on show to the public.

Conclusion

When looking at the life of Henry Dyer, there is no doubt that he was one of the most influential foreigners in Japan during the period of Japanese

¹⁹³ There is another set of prints which is in a lacquer box in a Scottish collection, but it is not available for research.

modernisation. It can be said that Henry Dyer served Japan from the point of view of 'bringing up' engineers. Besides, his guaranteed support in Glasgow was one of the reasons why many young Japanese students chose Glasgow as a place to study at that time.

His collection tells us of his understanding of Japanese culture. The quality of his Japanese art collection is worthy of attention as a personal collection by someone who was not a specialist in Japanese art, such as those who visited Japan purely to collect Japanese art. Looking at the album of Yokohama Prints which was collected along with other fine Japanese works of art, the position of the album is not inferior. The album would be one of Dyer's personal memorial items of his life in Japan as well as being regarded as one of the Japanese arts which he collected.

CHAPTER 5

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

The National Library of Scotland holds two early Japanese photograph collections. One is a volume of images of China & Japan, which was donated by Major Archibald Alexander Gordon in 1928. The other is a collotyped photograph album of images taken by Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *Views in the Far East*, which was published in Tokyo in 1897. This album was bought by the National Library of Scotland a few years ago as a part of the Isabella Bird collection.

In this chapter, the provenance of Gordon's album will be studied only briefly since less information about him and his trip to Japan exists. Secondly, Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop) and the collotyped album will be investigated, looking at aspects of Victorian travel, travel writing and amateur photography, because she is famous not only as one of the pioneer Victorian woman travellers but also as an early travel writer, amateur photographer and missionary.

The Gordon Album

Major Archibald Alexander Gordon (1867 - 1939)

Major Archibald Alexander Gordon, the second son of Dr. William Eagleson Gordon, belonged to an upper class family with a strong tradition of army service. Educated at Edinburgh University, he became a Major in the 9th, Highlanders; Royal Scots, and was a member of the Royal Company of Archers. His father was also a serviceman who was mentioned in despatches, and who won the Victoria Cross.

The Albums as a Collection

Major Archibald Alexander Gordon donated four volumes of photo albums to the National Library of Scotland in 1928, just after the library opened to the public in 1925. He might have thought that these albums would provide useful material for the study of anthropology or geology. The albums consist of four volumes: India & Ceylon, Australia & New Zealand, China & Japan and America & The West Indies, which he had bought as souvenirs of a round the world trip.

They are bound in coloured leather with gilded titles (see Plate. 214). There are sixty-seven albumen prints of Japanese images which are bound together with the photographs of China. Although some prints are not tinted, most of them are coloured. That tinted prints are included is an important characteristic of early Japanese photographs. Tinted photographs are only seen in the Japanese sections of the souvenir.

While these albums have never been exhibited to the public since their donation in 1928, the collection is regarded as having significant images, not only as historical early photographs but also from the aspects of geology and anthropology.

Major Gordon's Round The World Trip

There is very little information about the journeys that Major Archibald Alexander Gordon made between 1889 and 1890. However we can see some records of the trip in his biography, *Culled from a Diary*, published in 1941. He noted the motivation of the trip as follows: "I had shortly before passed my twenty-first birthday, too young in the opinion of many, including that of myself, to start business on my own, so a munificent relative kindly gave me a thousand pounds to spend in travelling for a long year round the world".¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Major Archibald Alexander Gordon, *Culled from a Diary (1867-1939)* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1941), 5-6.

He sailed with P & O from the Thames in February 1889 for Bombay, and his route thereafter took him to India & Ceylon, Australia & New Zealand, returning to Sydney and sailing via the Great Barrier Reef to Hong Kong. Finally, he visited Japan from Hong Kong. On the tour of Japan, unfortunately, he only mentions that he toured Japan by hired rickshaw with tandem runners.¹⁹⁵ The rest of the information that we have is that he left Yokohama to go to San Francisco. After visiting Japan, he continued his trip to Yosemite Valley, Mount Shasta and Seattle, Vancouver, the Rocky Mountains, Banff, Winnipeg, Chicago, Niagara Falls, Montreal, Ottawa, Quebec and New York. Literally, a 'round the world trip', this journey was typical of trips made by upper class people at that time.

The Album

Gordon made a hand written index including the accession number and the title of each image. Some of them he titled by himself and sometimes he copied the title which was printed on the photographs (see Plates. 215 and 216). The numbers of the order for binding can be seen on the back of some prints. These facts tell us that not only did Gordon decide the order of the prints by himself but he also bought the prints individually from studios.

In other words, he did not order an album which had been bound as a ready made album by a studio. It can be seen that the binding was undertaken in Britain from the fact that the four volumes were bound in the same style and had leather covers, like Andrew Carnegie's albums which were bound in America. However, it is difficult to know further details such as whether he bought the prints by himself or asked someone to arrange prints for him or whether he ordered them to be sent to Britain through the photo studio or agent. Whichever, their condition is good considering the photographs were printed nearly one hundred years ago and have travelled

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 6.

halfway round the world by ship. It could be said that the condition of the album as a whole is also excellent, they have been unsullied by public display.

Photographer: Kozaburo Tamamura (1856 - ?)

The Major Archibald Alexander Gordon album contains thirty prints by Kozaburo Tamamura. This makes up 60% of the whole album. Considering that of the other prints in the album, 39% are by unknown photographers and only one print can be identified as by Felice Beato, it is more than likely that Gordon bought the prints from Kozaburo Tamamura's studio.

Kozaburo Tamamura was born in Tokyo. He learned photography under Genzo Kanamaru, who had a studio in Asakusa in Tokyo, from the age of thirteen to twenty and opened his own photo studio in Yokohama in 1882. His studio soon specialised in Yokohama Prints. The reputation of his studio, and the flourishing Yokohama Prints business, can be seen from an episode when Tamamura received an order for one million prints from the American dealer Silhouette of Boston in 1896. The first delivery was noted in the newspaper *Mainichi-shinbun* of 19 July 1896 as '40,000 prints had been exported, another 180,000 prints will have been exported next month'. Tamamura employed an extra one hundred and five assistants for printing and hand colouring this order.¹⁹⁶

The Images of the Album

As we have seen, due to the lack of clear records, it is difficult to reach conclusions about Gordon's trip to Japan and matters connected with the prints. However, the album contains not only the scenery of Yokohama, Kamakura and Nikko, which are the major sightseeing places, but also

¹⁹⁶ Takeshi Ozawa, *Nihon no Shashin-shi* (Tokyo: Nikkor Club, 1986), 96. Terry Bennett, *Early Japanese Images* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1996), 51-52. and Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan, 231.

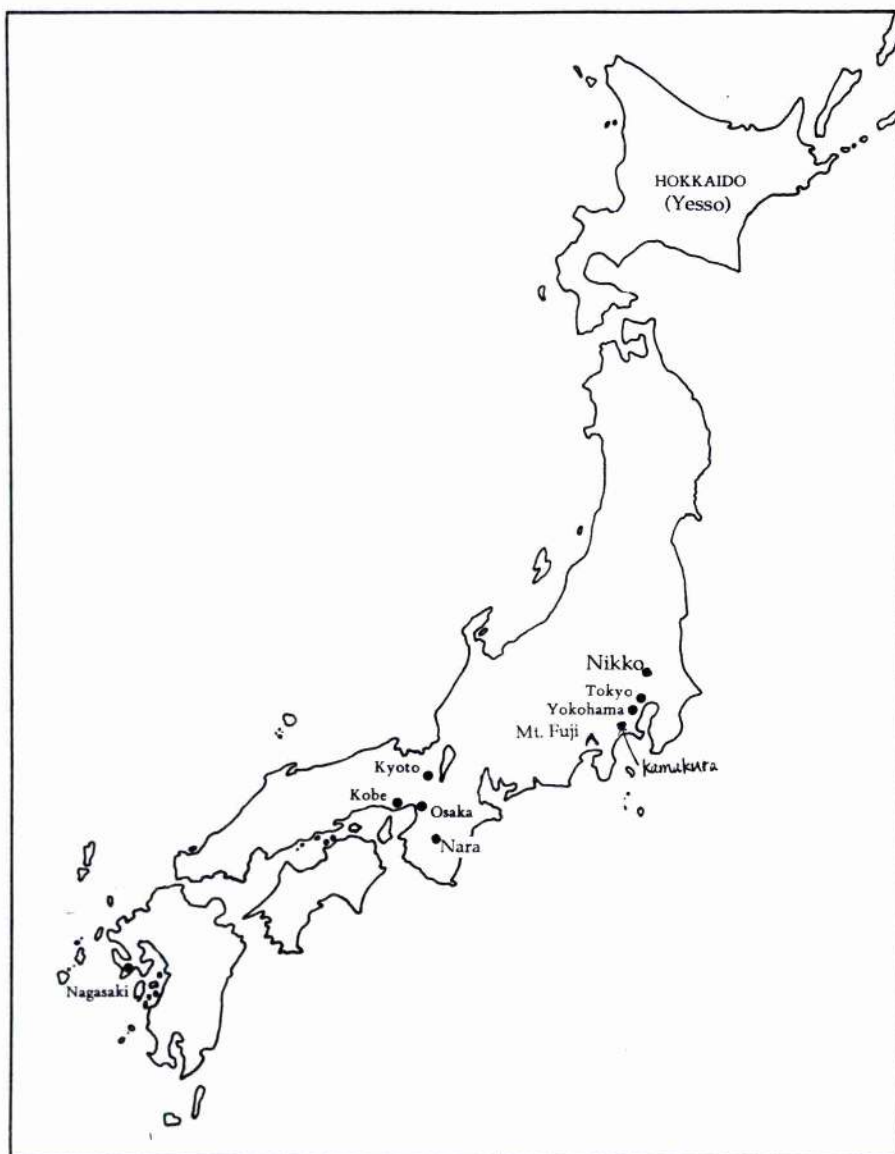


Figure. 28. Map; Japan with the names of the main places which appear in the Gordon album.

Nagasaki, Kobe, Kyoto and Nara of which there are not many images in other albums in Scottish collections.

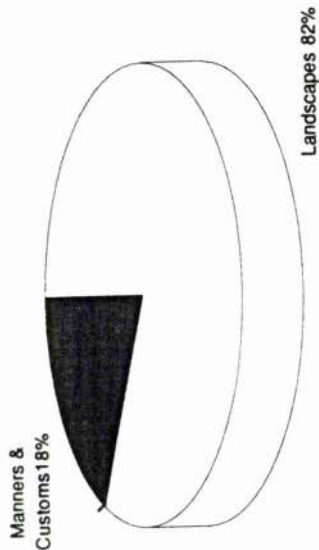
He bought the prints in 1889, during the most flourishing period of souvenir albumen prints, as has been mentioned in the chapter concerning Yokohama Prints. Besides, he visited about ten years later than the other people who had collections of Yokohama Prints in Scotland, and had more opportunities to get various images in Tokyo. Prints were increasingly common and exported not only from Yokohama but also from the other main ports which were used for trade with foreign countries. Assuming that he did not visit places such as Nara or Kyoto directly, Gordon would still have been able to buy prints. From the condition of the print, details such as its accession number, the different style of titles and letters and the tone of imprint and colour can show whether he bought the prints from different photo studios or from a photo studio which had already arranged prints from several photo studios.

Subjects

Examining the subjects, Gordon's preferences can be clearly seen. He chose landscapes rather than Japanese customs and manners. In the landscapes, Nikko, Kyoto and Tokyo are the three places which are most frequently featured in the album. As has been mentioned, the album includes views of other cities such as Nagasaki (Plates. 217, 218, 219), Kobe (Plates. 220, 221, 222), Osaka (Plates. 223, 224) and Nara (Plates. 225, 227, 228). At this stage, the hypothesis will be made that he landed at Nagasaki first from Hong Kong, and went across Japan to the east to Tokyo. Then he might stop at each city above (see Fig. 28), even though, there is doubt as to whether he had enough time and opportunity to visit and buy prints at each photo studio.

The images of the album are filled with a romantic or dreamy atmosphere. The soft tones of the prints and colours is one reason for this

Figure. 29. Chart; Major subject categories in the Gordon album.



Yokohama Print

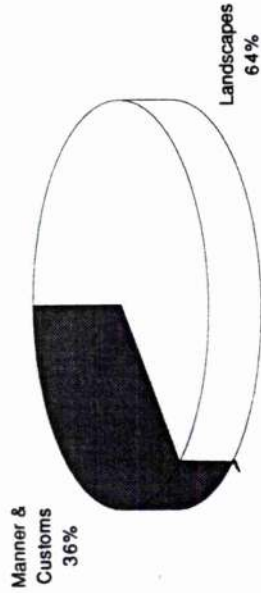


Figure. 1.

Andrew Carnegie album

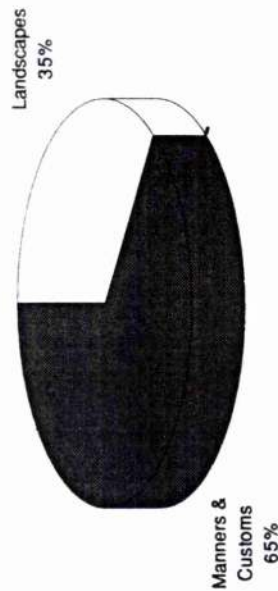
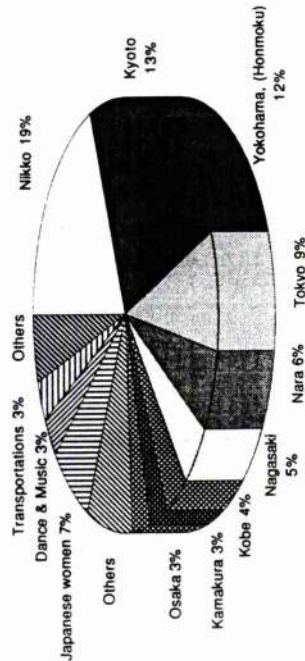


Figure. 25.

Figure. 30. Chart; Detailed subject categories in the Gordon album.



Yokohama Print: Proportion of subjects

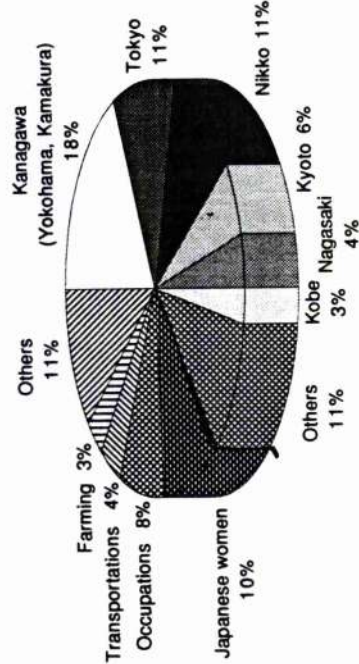


Figure. 2.

Andrew Carnegie album: Proportion of subjects

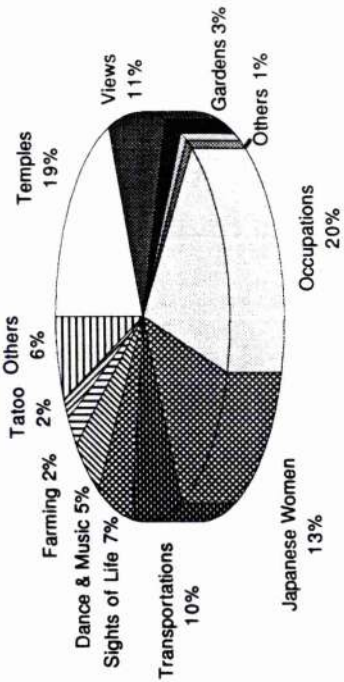


Figure. 26.

(Plates. 226, 233, 235, 244 and 259 as typical examples). Furthermore, 'landscape' images lead us away from reality. Beautifully tinted, soft toned, 'landscapes' would be just the images which the romantic Victorian cherished. Twelve images are categorised with the subject of 'manners and customs'.¹⁹⁷ All of the images of 'manners and customs' except for Plates. 275 and 281 are taken in a studio. Again, although it is not completely fake nor full of artificially arranged 'sights', these photographs do still reflect the concepts favoured by foreigners (see Plates. 272 - 280 and 282 as the examples). As a typical, or perhaps idealised, foreign traveller's souvenir, Gordon's album has a good balance of different places and subjects.

Conclusion

Although it is outside the scope of this dissertation to investigate photographs of other countries, the other volumes of Gordon's album also contain stunning images. It lets us see another meaning in the album when the four albums are studied together such as seeing the 'round the world trip' of Major Gordon, a total view of what kind of photographs were taken and produced in the other countries at that period, whether they were produced as souvenirs for foreigners or without the distinction for trade and for a domestic market. Looking at world-wide development of photography at this time still in its early stages as an art medium could be an important and interesting angle. As examples of Yokohama Prints, the album certainly shows developments from the aspect of wider arrangements of images and the system. For example, more prints have detailed titles and accession numbers than the earlier albums of Yokohama Prints of Andrew Carnegie and Henry Dyer bought ten years before.

¹⁹⁷ See Figs. 29, 30 and also other charts in the page.



Figure. 31. Portrait of Isabella Bird, "*Mrs. Bishop at Newcastle*", Photographed by Lyd Sawyer. From Stoddart, Anna M. *The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop)*.

Isabella Bird's (Mrs Isabella Bishop's) Collotyped Album

The Album

The National Library of Scotland holds one collotyped book which is bound in the traditional Japanese way, strung with paper thread and covered with a Japanese textile of a grass colour with a Chinese pattern. The details of the publication can be seen on the first page of the book: /VIEW IN THE FAR EAST./ PHOTOGRAPHED/ BY/ ISABELLA L, BISHOP F. R. G. S./ COLLOTYPED/ BY/ S.KAJIMA,/ TOKYO/. Adding to this information, the date of the publication, in 1897, is clear from the research of Kiyonori Kanasaka.¹⁹⁸ The album contains sixty black & white prints which include twelve images of Korea, eleven images of Japan and forty-seven images of China.

Pat Barr points out, in the captions to one of the Japanese illustrations it is started that Isabella did not bring her camera on her first trip to Japan in 1878, so clearly these photographs were taken on her second trip to Asia between 1894 and 1895.¹⁹⁹

Isabella Bird; A Victorian traveller

Isabella Bird was born in 1831, the daughter of Edward Bird, a clergyman.²⁰⁰ Her family lived at Boroughbridge Hall in Yorkshire after living in Calcutta. They were a prosperous upper middle class family with a powerful tradition of service to God and the community.

The character of the Victorian lady traveller is best captured by quoting from 'Well-Qualified Ladies' in *Victorian Lady Travellers*: "Fortified by

¹⁹⁸ Kiyonori Kanasaka, *Isabella Bird-ron notameno Kankeishiryo to Kisotekikento* (Five Types of Material and the Basic Consideration for the Essay on Isabella Bird) Tokyo: Tabi no Bunkakenkyujo, 1995), 6. The catalogue of the library dates the volume '1880?' but this cannot be correct.

¹⁹⁹ Pat Barr, *A Curious Life for a Lady: the story of Isabella Bird* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd., 1984), 9. See illustration 12.

²⁰⁰ See Fig. 31.

a kind of innocent valour, convinced of the civilising mission of woman, clothed in long skirts and armed with an umbrella or sunshade according to the climate, the nineteenth century woman traveller covered thousands of miles - writing, painting, observing, botanizing, missionizing, collecting, and, latterly, photographing. They deplored the occasional necessity of riding astride and could rarely bring themselves to wear trousers. Although the exigencies of travel forced them into many odd conveyances - litters, carts, stagecoaches, coal-boats, the back of coolies, elephant howdahs and even Bath chair on wheels -they were likely to jib at London bus on return home."²⁰¹ This sounds like a female James Bond. In her travels, Isabella Bird was no exception.

Her first recorded trip was to North America and Canada at the age of twenty-three in 1854. After a long gap, her second period of travel began when she visited, at the age of forty-two, Australia, New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands(now Hawaii), the Rocky Mountains, Japan, Hong-Kong, Malaya, India, Kashmir & Tibet, Persia & Kurdistan, Turkey. Her third major trip was to China, Korea and Japan in 1897, at the age of sixty-six. Morocco became her last trip which was carried out in July 1900.

Surprisingly, the reason she started travelling was her doctor's suggestion that the voyage would be good for her weak health. During her trip to Sandwich Islands, in 1873, she explored the islands for six months, and visited the 2,500-foot-high tableland of Waimea, riding on horseback. Riding around the islands, "she wore her riding costume with great rusty New Zealand boots, a pair of jangling Mexican spurs, a lei of orange pandanus seeds and a coarse broad-brimmed Australian hat."²⁰² This attire tells us that Miss Bird adapted quickly to the climate and the culture.

²⁰¹ Dorothy Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travellers* (New York: Dutton, 1965; reprint, Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1982), 4.

²⁰² Barr, 29.

On her way home from the Sandwich Islands, she spent time in the Rocky Mountains. Her extraordinary energy can be appreciated from the fact that she rode eight hundred miles to look around the Rocky Mountains.

In 1873, she arrived in Japan to travel to Northern Japan, where very few foreigners entered, and to Yesso (now Hokkaido) to see the native people, the 'Ainu'. At that time, Northern Japan was unknown and there was no proper means of transportation for foreigners. These areas were said by Europeans to be one of the most dangerous places in the world. Moreover, at that time, the new government had just opened Japan up to foreigners after shutting them out for more than two hundred years. Foreign people were allowed to visit only limited areas which have been mentioned. Still some Japanese people thought that foreigners should not be allowed to enter Japan for national security. It could be said that conditions of health, security and life were very unpleasant and dangerous for the European woman traveller.

In spite of these circumstances, she planned a route to the interior rather than just visiting the capital and other major cities, as was usual for foreign visitors. Preparing to travel around Japan, she equipped herself with forty letters to influential residents.²⁰³ She met, and became friends with, many important figures such as ambassadors, officers of the British government, politicians and intellectuals in each country she visited. Society for these foreigners who lived abroad, especially not in European countries, was far smaller than it is today and people naturally knew each other well. In the nineteenth century, outsiders who travelled in unknown countries could not arrange without the support and understanding of the people who had political power and had knowledge of the countries.

This time she hired a rickshaw instead of horses. She hired three rickshaws, with runners, for the first stage of ninety miles, at a charge of

²⁰³ Anna M. Stoddart, *The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop)* (London: Hazell, Watson and Viney Ltd., 1908), 100.

eleven shillings each for three days.²⁰⁴ She travelled from July to September with a Mr. Ito, who was hired as her servant and translator. She stayed for four days as the guest of the *Ainu* chief. She was very impressed by the manners and appearance of the people, "I never saw such a strangely picturesque sight as that group of magnificent savages with the fitful firelight on their faces".²⁰⁵ She left Japan, where she had stayed for seven months, with many sketches and records of her travels which she used later in her book about Japan.

Her trip to Persia and Kurdistan which was undertaken in 1890 is very important. It is because of this trip that she became famous as a great Victorian lady traveller. Kiyonori Kanasaka regards that having information on the Middle East was dangerous, especially because of the political and military situation at that time. He also assumes that this is the reason that in spite of beginning to take photographs by herself on this trip, she did not use them in her book, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*(1891), using instead the photographs for a photograph album which was published separately from the book. Moreover, she used only the initials of some of the people who were involved in her trip and when the album was published, she even avoided revealing her own name to prevent causing a dangerous situation in the middle of the 'Great Game' (spy activities).²⁰⁶

As a result of her experiences and exploration, which included reporting her writings and lectures, she contributed to the introduction of new information on various counties. She was elected the first woman Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1890, and of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in 1892. In 1893, she also received the honour of an invitation from Queen Victoria.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 102.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 104.

²⁰⁶ Kanasaka, 8-9.

Isabella Bird; A Travel Writer

Anna Stoddart regards that through her book, *Six months in the Sandwich Islands* (1875), the islands were for the first time made intelligible. This is because it describes many detailed aspects of the natural history of the Sandwich Islands such as its volcanoes, physical geography, mineral products, and botanical abundance.²⁰⁷ The book shows her great skill of observation.

In 1880, following the book *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879), her book about Japanese travel, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, was successfully published. It was translated into German in the following year and into French in 1886. A new edition of the book was published in 1890 which included fourteen photographic images taken by Isabella herself on her second trip to Japan. The total sale of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* reached 10,170. Her amazing talent for writing will be also seen from the fact that she wrote 111 publications in total, including articles for journals.

She had a deep knowledge of Japan. On her first trip to Japan in 1878, she became a friend of Sir Ernest Satow²⁰⁸. He was the best person to tell her about Japan, as he had an appropriate knowledge and understanding of the country at that time. Dorothy Middleton also describes him as "the best

²⁰⁷ Middleton, 4.

²⁰⁸ Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929): An English diplomat, linguist and scholar. Having received his BA from London University, he passed first in a competitive aptitude examination for interpreters. He chose Japan to begin his career. He became secretary to the embassy in 1868 after the imperial restoration. He was on the British diplomatic staff in Japan from 1862 to 1882 during the change of Japan from the shogunate to the Meiji modern government. He became minister plenipotentiary to Japan.

Since Britain wanted to draw closer to Japan to check Russia's schemes for acquiring an ice-free port, Satow was the ideal choice for the post because he knew the Meiji government, its leaders and the languages of Japan, China and continental Europe.

He was appointed to the Privy Council and a six-year term in the Court of Arbitration at the Hague quickly followed. In late 1907 Satow retired to Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire, England. There for 22 years he continued his writing on legal subjects and lectured at Cambridge. Although he was married to a Japanese woman, the fact was not known publicly for a long time. He was an outstanding figure of his period and regarded as a person who had a deep understanding of the language and culture of Japan.



Figure. 32. Image of Isabella Bird and Camera in Swatow in China, Photographed by Mr. Mackenzie. From Stoddart, Anna M. *The Life of Isabella Bird* (Mrs. Bishop).

informed man in Japan, whose friendship she secured and who put at her disposal all his stores of knowledge of the country and its history".²⁰⁹

She started using photographs in publications at the time of her work on *Korea and her Neighbours* in 1898. The book *Korea and her Neighbours* included twenty two images which were also taken by herself. However, the most successful travel book to include photographic images is probably her next book *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (1899) which included 106 images. Dorothy Middleton regards this book as being 'lavishly illustrated with Mrs. Bishop's own photographs' and having 'a taut and moving story'. The scenery is vividly described, confirming as it did to her insatiable appetite for natural marvels and exotic effects'.²¹⁰ Looking her photographs in *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, the photographs in the book seem to be taken from documentary angle. They are the buildings where she visited or the landscapes along the Yangtze valley where she crossed, a boat which she used. Following Isabella's travel in China with the images, we can re-experience her travel. In other words, the photographs were a visual record of her travel.

Isabella produced seventeen publications in total which included ten travel books and three photographic albums²¹¹ in total, apart from other articles or publication for magazines.

Isabella Bird; A Photographer²¹²

Early travellers had to cope with many difficulties when taking pictures abroad. They had to develop their prints immediately in the place where they were taken. They also had to carry all their large and heavy equipment throughout their long and harsh journeys. However the bulky gear could not

²⁰⁹ Middleton, 102.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 50.

²¹¹ *Photographs Persia*, 1890, *Views in the Far East*, 1897, and *Chinese Pictures; Notes on Photographs made in China*, 1900.

²¹² See Fig. 32.

stop those whose imaginations were captivated by the novelty of photography. When Isabella spent five weeks on a twenty-eight foot sampan in Korea, she made herself a dark room on board so that she could develop her negatives and prints of Korea.²¹³

Anna Stoddart introduces some interesting documents about how Isabella Bird learned photography. The first is from June 1892 indicating that "she had a course of lessons in photography which she took from Mr. Howard Farmer at the Regent Street Polytechnic and which she renewed every time she was in London".²¹⁴ The other record is from 7th July 1902 stating, "she went to Cambridge for a photographic convention, which lasted five days".²¹⁵ This shows us that Mrs. Isabella Bishop took photography seriously and that it also was difficult to take and develop photographs without practical technical knowledge.

Her serious attitude toward photography is described in several other records. "She always had a sufficient reserve of strength to occupy an extra hour of two in the developing of her photographs is noted on her routine in Shao-Hing in China".²¹⁶ Isabella herself mentioned: "that nothing even took such a hold on me as photography has done. If I felt free to follow my inclination I should give my whole time to do it."²¹⁷ Another note says that "The muddiness of the water in the *Yangtze* made developing a problem and printing was also a great difficulty and I only overcame it by hanging the printing frames over the side[of the boat]. When all those rough arrangements were successful, each print was joy and a triumph".²¹⁸

²¹³ Anne Gatti, *Isabella Bird Bishop* (London: Hamilton, 1988), 50.

²¹⁴ Stoddart, 259.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 357.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 299.

²¹⁷ John Murray Papers, John Murray Publishers, London. The letter from Isabella Bird to John Murray on 23 January 1897, in Olive Checkland, *Isabella Bird and 'a woman's right to do what she can do well'* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), 160.

²¹⁸ Gatti, 52.

She took two hundred photographs on her Chinese trip and had them developed in Shanghai, though the edges of some of her films were affected by the fierce heat of Central China.²¹⁹ This tells us that the successful Victorian travelling photographer could not manage with only academic and theoretical knowledge but also required an ability to adapt to the situation. On the other hand, perhaps they got more pleasure and satisfaction from facing their hardships. From Osaka in Japan, Isabella Bird wrote to Miss Cullen about her Chinese trip. In the letter she spoke confidently about her photographic skills: "You would be surprised with my photos. I have made great advances lately, and print with a highly enamelled surface like a professional".²²⁰

Olive Checkland notes the aspect of Isabella as an travel photographer that: "She was quite taken up with the idea of using her own illustrations, writing from Chengtzu, Sze-chuan, 'Illustrations by a cheap process seem a great feature in books of travel now. I don't think that I mentioned that I have a number of my own photographs for this purpose.'²²¹ Her luggage was enlarged to take account of her camera, which added '16 pounds weight', and other equipment."²²² As a result of this, Isabella Bird's travel book attracted people with its stunning descriptions of unusual experiences and many illustrations of vivid images from real life.

Collotyped photograph album

Isabella Bird visited Japan before and after her trip to Korea and China, during June to October in 1895 and July to October in 1896. In *The Life of Isabella Bird*, some details about the collotyped album are mentioned. The most important note is in the letter to Miss Cullen that was written on 16th

²¹⁹ Stoddart, 326.

²²⁰ Ibid., 303.

²²¹ The letter from Isabella Bird to John Murray on 11 April 1896. In Checkland, 160.

²²² Checkland, 160.

August in 1896: "I have worked very hard at printing sixty of my negatives to send to Tokyo to be collotyped, and I hope to be able to sell them for the Paoning-fu medical mission at ten or twelve shillings per volume, fifty or more".²²³ This is the collotype album that belongs to the collection of the National Library of Scotland. From Isabella's comment, it is clear that this album was published for the purpose of helping one of her medical missionary activities, with which she appeared to be involved, especially during the second trip to Asia.²²⁴ Dr. Cassels²²⁵ noted in the story of Paoning-fu medical mission and Isabella Bird that: "Whilst with us she expressed her feeling that we ought to have a hospital at Paoning. I took her to see one or two houses, and she most kindly and generously sent me later on a cheque for £100 towards founding a hospital as the Henrietta Bird Hospital."²²⁶ It was shortly afterwards opened, and is now in the charge of Dr. William Shackleton."²²⁷ A reason why she stressed Paoning-fu to support can be seen because the place was very important for China Inland Mission. It is pointed out by Olive Checkland that "Paoning-Fu, around which there were perhaps some sixty Anglican missionaries working for various missionary societies and which was the chief centre of the working of the China Inland Mission".²²⁸ We can see Isabella's talent as a missionary as well as an organiser from all aspects of her activities and their decisions.

Although there is no travel diary of her second visit to Japan, it is possible to identify her schedule from the information which was recorded in

²²³ Ibid., 327.

²²⁴ Further details about her medical missionary activities mention later in 'The second trip to Japan'.

²²⁵ Dr. Cassels was a well-known Cambridge athlete, and one of the pioneer missionaries in the interior, who presided over some sixty Anglican clergy. He had returned from his consecration in Westminster Abbey.

²²⁶ Henrietta Bird is the name of Isabella Bird's sister who died. In addition to the "John Bishop Memorial Hospital" at Srinagar she desired to provide a small hospital and dispensary in memory of her sister, Henrietta Bird.

²²⁷ Stoddart, 315.

²²⁸ Checkland, 137.

*The Life of Isabella Bird.*²²⁹ On the day after she arrived at Tokyo, around 4th July, Sir Ernest Satow came to see her, and asked her to pay him a visit at his summer home, in a little semi-Japanese house, on the banks of Lake Chusenji, seven miles above Nikko. She accepted this invitation and stayed from the middle of August to the middle of September. From the same letter on 16th August, it can be seen that she printed and sent her negatives to Tokyo from Sir Ernest Satow's summer residence.

Comparing her schedule and the images in the album, it shows when she took the images and under what circumstances, though there are no written records (see footnote ' Isabella Bird's schedule in Japan).

First of all, investigating Plates. 286 and 287. One point which has to be mentioned is that there is the possibility of mistakes having been made in

²²⁹ Isabella Bird's (Mrs. Bishop) schedule in Japan

June 4, 1895	left Shanghai in SS. <i>Kaisow</i> for Nagasaki. Osaka Plates. (Tsushima)286?, 287? Tokyo ... She was the guest of Bishop and Mrs. Bickersteth.
July 1	Ikao[it is probably Ikaho] mountain village (two months) Plate. 288? At first she lived in the inn, but soon after her arrival she rented a small Japanese house, where her time was chiefly occupied in working at her book on Korea and in developing, toning, and enamelling photographs.
after middle of August	for a month, she could take long walks and photographed temples, villages, and lakes.
middle of September	went back to Tokyo Plates. 284? and 285? she stayed with Bishop and Mrs. Bickersteth and saw her old friend Sir Ernest Satow.
early October	left Japan for Korea Plates. 286? and 287?
February 1896	left Korea for Western China 200 photographs were taken
June 27	left Shanghai for Japan
by July 4	visited Tokyo, welcomed by Bishop and Mrs. Bickersteth 10 days Plates. 284?, 285?
July 15	stopping at Namma Shinjuro's inn Plate. 291? trying the neighbouring sulphur-bath at Yumoto
August 1	went to Shobunotaki to meet Sir Ernest Satow and Mr. Lowther who rowed her to Chusenji Plates. 293?, 294?
sometime	in Yumoto, she had established herself in a fairly good Japanese hotel, where a foreign visitor could find most of their wants supplied.
sometime	stayed at Sir Ernest Satow's summer house on Chusenji lake Plates. 288?, 290, 292, 293?, 294.
by August 16	printing sixty of her negatives to send to Tokyo to be collotyped
by the middle of September	stayed at Sir Ernest's house
October	left for Seoul, Korea

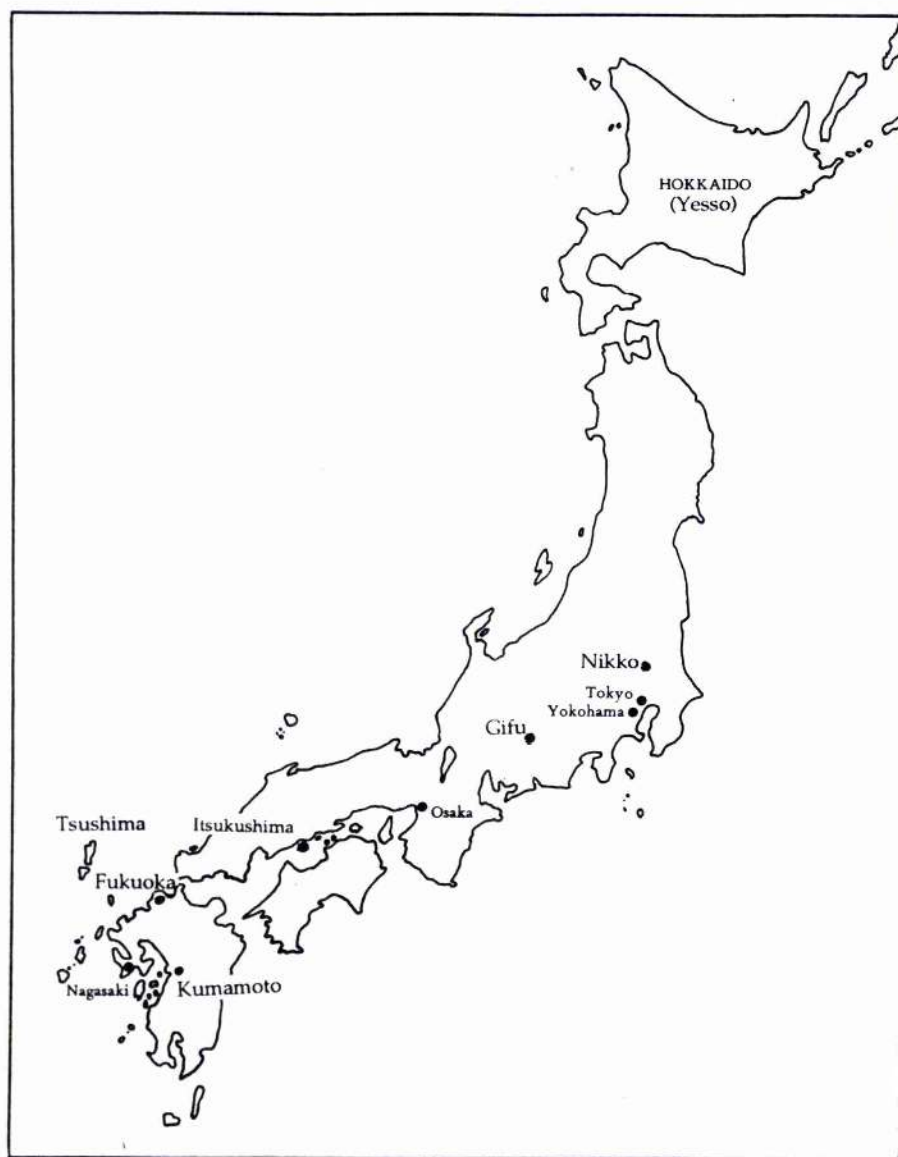


Figure. 33. Map; Japan with the names of the main places which appear in the Isabella Bird album

the titles, and the names of places in the prints. The Plates. 286 and 287 are recorded as 'Tsushima'. This is more likely to be Itsukushima. Both places are small islands, but Tsushima was a very remote region in Japan especially at this time (see Fig. 33). These two photographs are scenes of fishing village, there are two possibilities as to when she took these images. One possibility is between 4th June 1895, when she left Shanghai for Nagasaki, and 1st July when she moved to Ikato village from Tokyo. Another is in early October, just before she left Japan for Korea, because Itukushima is located between Tokyo and Nagasaki (see Fig. 33). The fact that she visited Nagasaki, Itsukushima, Fukuoka and Gifu can be found from the photograph collections in the Royal Geographic Society. Itsukushima is located in the inland sea of Japan and is recorded by Kanesaka as one of Isabella Bird's destinations on her second Japanese trip. The visit to Kumamoto is especially noted as she went there to visit the leprosy hospital which was opened by Misses Riddell and Nott, members of the Church Missionary Society.

The images of Plate. 284 '*John Bishop Orphanage, Tokyo*' and Plate. 285 '*Gifu Orphans*', were both probably taken in Tokyo not Gifu. It is not likely that the mistake occurs in the title of Plate. 284 because it is captioned in detail and this is the first photograph in the Japanese section in the album. Looking at both images carefully, the numbers of children, eighteen or nineteen, are the same in both images and the woman wearing white *kimono* is also in both images. Moreover, the place where Plate. 285 was taken is recognised as the right corner of Plate. 284, if we take note of the plant, bamboo basket and building. The image in Plates. 284 and 285 were presumably taken between the middle of September and early October 1896 or between 4th and 15th July in 1896 during her stay in Tokyo. There is an interesting record in Mrs. Bishop Bickersteth's letter that:

I shall never forget a June day in 1895. Mrs. Bishop had discovered that it was my husband's birthday, and she brought to his study an

envelope containing a cheque for the exact amount required to build an orphanage urgently needed by St. Hilda's Mission and very near our hearts. . . . solemnly dedicated to God's service the pretty and convenient Japanese house henceforth known as the "John Bishop Orphanage."²³⁰

According to this letter, the house was built immediately after Isabella Bird gifted the money for its construction in June 1895. Therefore the Orphanage was possibly built by the middle of September 1895. It is difficult to say which day exactly from other clues such as clothes or garden because both days, September 1895 and July 1896, are in summer.

From the image of Plate. 291 '*A Japanese Inn*', it would be reasonable to assume that the "inn" was Namma Shinjuro's inn located near Yumoto sulphur-bath where she stayed just before moving to Sir Ernest Satow's summer house.

Plate. 293 '*Red Bridge Nikko*' could have been taken anytime during her stay at Sir Ernest's house in Chusenji because it was located seven miles above Nikko. Another reason is that the photograph is arranged among the images of Chusenji in the collotyped album.

Studying her photographs, it will be noticed that they have delicate lines and images. It is probably the effect of the collotype process adding to the soft touch on the images. Her landscapes, Plates. 286, 287, 291, 293 and 294, were taken from slightly diagonal angle. It gives more depths and distance in the images. Especially, taking the big or closest object, trees, in the side of photographs and opened space in the other side effected its three dimensional effecting to the images Plates. 290 and 294. This manner is often seen in Japanese traditional woodcut prints. I personally feel that the images

²³⁰ Stoddart, 304.

show the part of Isabella Bird's delicate personality which is often hidden by her dynamic and tough character as a traveller and her activities.

Isabella Bird; A Missionary

In 1881 at the age of forty-nine, Miss Isabella Bird got married to Dr. John Bishop, who was her sister's doctor. Although Isabella and Dr. Bishop had been friends for a long time and he proposed to her several times, she did not accept his proposal. However, the death of her sister, Henrietta changed Isabella's life. Isabella loved Henrietta, calling her sister 'My Dearest Pet', and 'My ownest'.²³¹ Pat Barr introduces Isabella's letter describing her sadness after Henrietta's death: "The anguish is awful. . . . *She was my world*, present or absent, seldom absent from my thoughts. . . . She is not - and the light, life and inspiration of my life have died with her."²³² After the death of her sister, Henrietta, she finally decided to get married. Unfortunately, she lost her husband five years later. It is possible that she started acting for the medical mission due to the influence of her husband who was a medical doctor, although Isabella had been involved in missionary activities since she was a child.

On the second trip to Asia, carried out after Dr. Bishop's death, her main purpose appeared to be to aid the medical mission. However, there is another reason which could be suggested as the motivation for this medical missionary trip. Pat Barr quotes Isabella's words that: "The scheme commends itself to me from my beloved husband's and my own very deep interest in medical missions, and from my desire to erect a memorial to him in the shape of a medical hospital."²³³ Barr gives her motivation of the trip as "going to inspect missions, to build memorials. She was going because it was her only chance of health and happiness, but that she did not dare admit, because it was such an ignobly selfish reason, compared with the consistently

²³¹ Barr, 181.

²³² Ibid., 186.

²³³ Ibid., 194.

selfless deeds of the beloved dead."²³⁴ She established several small hospitals in China and two hospitals in India. She donated money to the 'John Bishop Memorial Hospital' at Islamabad in 1889, she built the 'Henrietta Bird Hospital' at Srinagar in 1889 from her desire to provide a small hospital and dispensary in memory of her sister.²³⁵ However, her medical mission work can not only be regarded as leaving hospitals in memory of her beloved family, but also as missionary work, another main reason why she was interested in these trips. Isabella Bird says that: "I believe in medical missions, because they are the nearest approach now possible to the method pursued by the Founder of the Christian faith, and to the fulfilment of His command, 'Heal and Preach'. It is not, as some suppose, that the medical missionary takes advantage of men in their pain and distress to 'poke at them' the claims of a foreign religion, though if he be a honest Christian he recognises that the soul needs enlightenment as much as the body needs healings."²³⁶ Her lectures on missionary activities in China, Korea and Japan were printed in the magazine *Church Missionary Intelligencer* when she returned to Britain. From one of her letters to Mr. Murray which was written before she left Shanghai for Japan on 27th June, it seems that she considered medical missionary would be the first effective step for Christian missionary, especially in Asia. She writes:

I have seen nothing to change my opinion that medical missions are the most effective pioneers of Christianity. . . . I have been able to build three hospitals containing altogether 160 beds - one under Bishop Corfe at Seoul; another under Bishop Cassels at Paoning-fu, Sze-Chuan; another at Chow-fu; and an orphanage for twenty-five earthquake orphans at Tokyo, under Bishop Bickersteth. There are

²³⁴ Ibid., 194-195.

²³⁵ Ibid., 219.

²³⁶ Isabella Bird, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, with a new introduction by Pat Barr (London: Virago Press Limited, 1985), 47-48.

memorials of my husband, my parents, and my sister, and you can imagine the pleasure they give me.²³⁷

Olive Checkland points out that Isabella Bird became an expert on the varied approaches of the different missionary societies in the Far East and her interest in the medical aspect of the missionary movement encouraged her to support many different Christian traditions. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop although responsible for uniting these streams of Christianity into Nippon Sei Kou Kai, the Holy Catholic Church in Japan, were strongly in the Anglican tradition.²³⁸ She supported them not only in the building of the orphanage but also for other activities. Mrs. Bickersteth also wrote that Isabella had offered her 500 yen if that would help her.

Conclusion

At present, Mrs. Isabella Bishop's collections are held mainly in the University of California in Los Angeles and the Royal Geographic Society in London. These include thirty-three blueprints and two hundred and eight Cabinet size prints and a copy of the album *Views in Far East* which was gifted by Isabella Bird. More than 500 prints and negatives of her other photographs are housed at John Murray Ltd. in London, the firm that published all her books over a period of forty-three years. She died at her house at 16 Melville Street in Edinburgh in 1904 and was buried at Dean Cemetery. She was regarded as the most outstanding Victorian woman traveller, explorer, travel writer, active missionary and amateur photographer. Publications and photographs are still able to tell us what she saw, what she experienced and what happened in countries at that time, as seen through the eyes of one Victorian lady.

²³⁷ Stoddart, 325.

²³⁸ Checkland, 172.

Conclusion : The National Library of Scotland Material

In the collection of Major Archibald Alexander Gordon, the most interesting thing is that the album contains many landscapes of cities apart from Tokyo, Yokohama, Nikko and Kamakura which cannot be seen in the other collections of the Yokohama prints in Scotland. Regrettably, there is little information that I could find about either his trip or about himself.

In the collection of Miss Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop) I found that the collotyped album shows only one aspect of her life. Nevertheless, the book published late in her travelling history shows not only her skill at photography but also her ideas and life style. We have already seen that she published the album to benefit the Paoning-fu medical mission. Worthy of notice is that in 1897, few Victorian women would have had the idea of using a photograph album for charity, or could have carried out such a project. In this fact, she can be regarded as a professional travel photographer. Her executive abilities in this successful project, when working for what she believed in and for what interested her are surprisingly powerful.

Neither collection has ever been used for an exhibition so far, though an exhibition devoted to Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop) was held in 1987 at the National Library of Scotland. Furthermore, Mr. Kanasaka pointed out that some photographs of Isabella Bird in the other institutions are not clearly identified. However, both collections, the albums of Major Archibald Alexander Gordon and Isabella Bird, have potential value as records of nineteenth century life and the history of photography.

CHAPTER 6

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

The Riddell Collection²³⁹

This collection consists of about ten thousand objects, including books, albums, prints, stereocards, cabinet portraits and *cartes de visite*, ambrotypes and daguerreotypes collected by Peter Fletcher Riddell (1918-1985). The collection was gifted by his family, through Mrs Ann Riddell, to the Gallery.

Peter Fletcher Riddell was born in Langside, Glasgow. After his education, he entered the Commercial Bank, now the Royal Bank of Scotland, as trainee, and five years later was transferred to Edinburgh. He became Staff Manager at the St Andrews Square office in 1959, and Manager of the Nicolson Street branch from 1968 until his retirement in 1978. It is surprising that a person who was a bank manager established such a huge collection in his life from his enthusiasm for 'collecting'.

Riddell began collecting stamps in childhood, and later his interests expanded into old Scottish books, maps, prints, steam stamps, porcelain, post cards and manuscripts. He collected in great numbers, for example, steam stamps - a person who used to sell stamps to Riddell mentioned that he had collected more than five hundred. According to antique shop owners who knew him, he was a collector of everything, especially items which were associated with Scotland. They also mention that he could talk with everyone on any kind of subject. He was quite a well known person in the world of second-hand shops - as a collector in the true sense of the world. His wide

²³⁹ There is no specific record about Riddell and his records apart from two publications by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and so the research for the provenance of his photographs was dependant on interviews or enquiry by letters to second-hand book shops and antique shops in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

range of knowledge and likeable personality seem to have attracted people, especially shop owners.

Riddell did not leave any record or diary of his collections, such as what he bought, when he bought it, who he bought from and how much he paid for items. It is rather strange that a person who was a passionate collector and who had worked in a bank in which everything has to be recorded, did not record anything about a collection of more than 10,000 items.

Peter Fletcher Riddell collected photographs over a span of forty years, beginning at a time when there was little public or academic interest in the subject of photography. He probably became interested in photography through the second-hand book shops which sold old Scottish books and manuscripts as well as prints and post cards. Sara Stevenson mentioned that: "it is impossible to categorise the collection in any simple way, except as a collection of photographic material relating to the period between 1843 and 1918".²⁴⁰ The photographic collection contains works of art of 250 named photographers such as J Craig Annan, Thomas Annan, Samuel Bourne, Archibald Burns, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson and John Thomson.²⁴¹ Geographically the photographs range across the world from Edinburgh to the Philippines, from Melrose to Trichinopoly, and in subject matter range from peaceful domesticity to war.²⁴² Therefore, even though there are only six Japanese prints, it could be said that he bought them with a knowledge of early Japanese photography. This is because the photographs

²⁴⁰ Scottish National Portrait Gallery, *Masterpieces of Photography from the Riddell Collection*, with an introduction by Sara Stevenson, a catalogue by Julie Lawson (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1986)

²⁴¹ Sara Stevenson and Julie Lawson, 'The National Photography Collection, at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery' (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995) Photocopied.

²⁴² Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

were produced in just the period which Mr. Riddell's collection concentrated on-between 1843 and 1918.

Booksellers seem to agree that Riddell bought both from auctions and from booksellers. However the book sellers James Thin's, which is one of the oldest book shops in Edinburgh, and the auctioneer Phillips (Edinburgh branch) do not recall any business dealings with Peter Fletcher Riddell. Also there was no record of business dealings with Riddell in the photographic department of Sotheby's. It seems, therefore, that Riddell did not buy collecting items through major auction houses.

Talking to people about him, I understand that he purely enjoyed and loved 'collecting' and it was not for his heritage or other interests. A lady remembers that his style of purchasing was that he would always pop into second-hand book shops or antique shops not only during his travels around Scotland but also everywhere he visited.²⁴³ He spent only small amounts of money on any item, a second-hand book shop owner mentioned that:

I am not aware of his having bought at auction. It is also unlikely that he ever paid very much for his photographs. In his later years he found the steep rise in prices very shocking and would quote prices of about 6d (2¹/₂ pence in decimal currency) for photographs he had bought in early days in Glasgow.²⁴⁴

Six Japanese early photographs in the Riddell Collection in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery have been studied. In addition to this collection, four *carte de visite* Japanese portrait photographs, which were taken in Japan were found as individual photographs in the collection of the Gallery.

Firstly, the Riddell Collection will be introduced to give the provenance of the prints, with particular emphasis on the five images which

²⁴³ Mrs Humphrey, owner of antique shop in Edinburgh.

²⁴⁴ Letter from Elizabeth Strong, McNaughtan's Bookshop in Edinburgh, on 11th February 1997 to the author.

can be categorised as Yokohama Prints. One print from the Riddell Collection will also be examined as an example of the works of art of Shozaburo Kuwada, an early Japanese photographer. Finally, the four *carte de visite* images will be studied - this mainly focuses on the photographer's bibliography.

Five 'Yokohama Prints'

Knowing a little about Peter Fletcher Riddell and his photographic collection, it is not surprising that the collection includes six Japanese prints out of the more than 17,000 prints which had been imported to Britain by 1901 from Japan.

Five out of six prints fall into the category of so called Yokohama Prints. Plates. 295, 297 and 298 were probably taken by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz 1870 to 1880. He was one of the important figures of early photography in Japan and specially favoured the subject of Japanese women. Three prints in the collection are of this type, with the three women illustrating typical Japanese beauties.

Plate. 296 is a portrait of an *Oiran*, a high-ranking courtesan, easily recognised by her typical hair style and costume with long heavy sleeves, and high sandals. However, the setting is not typical, Japanese people do not stand on floors while wearing shoes, so it is clear that the image was taken in studio and reflects the strong will of the foreign photographer, such as Stillfried, regarding how to compose a photograph or pose a model.

Plate. 298 shows again the setting of a typical scene. The samurai wears an outdoor rainy day costume, with raincoat, umbrella and high soled shoes. Yet it was taken in an indoor studio, where the photographer has prepared plants and sprinkled stones on a carpet to imitate an outside setting.

As can be also seen from Plates. 59 and 62, Yokohama Prints photographers were enthusiastic about making good studio settings. In the beginning of studio photography, the setting was simple, with only a white cloth hanging behind the models, the laying of a mattress or carpet or using chairs or screens as properties. During the *Meiji* period (1868-1926), photo studios competed with each other in the gorgeousness of their studio buildings as well as in the settings and properties. In particular the backing screens could be changed, depending on the customers' preference or the season. While some photographers who were originally painters, such as Renjo Shimooka and Tokoku Shimizu, made the back screens by themselves, the enthusiasm for the screen finally produced the independent back screen painter as an occupation.²⁴⁵ Due to these characteristic settings, a peculiar carpet or floor, a particular style of paper screen, back screen and other props of the interior become clues to identify individual photographers or their studios. Thus we can tell that Plates. 58, 59, 64 and 75 came from the studio of Stillfried because of the back screen.

Another print, Plate. 299, shows a man's tattooed back. Although this image was very popular among foreigners and brought to Britain as well as other countries as a Japanese souvenir, the studio and photographer of this one are unknown. In fact, a print of exactly the same image can also be found in the collections of the Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, in the National Library of Scotland and in Edinburgh Central City Library. This indicates that many people who bought Yokohama Prints as a souvenir chose this image, at least in Scottish collections. The man with his whole body tattooed must have been shocking to Western people. To the Victorian, people who were working nearly naked as fisherman or rickshaws was already an unusual sight.

²⁴⁵Japan Photographers Association. ed., *Nihon Shashin-shi 1840-1945*. (Tokyo: Heibon-Sha, 1971), 372.

Considering the further provenance of the prints, some information is given by the condition of the prints themselves. Finding individual Yokohama Prints which are not adhered to a cardboard mount suggests some possibilities. Terry Bennett suggests that this mint condition print was originally bought as a present for friends or relations by a traveller visiting more than one photo studio and who wanted to compile his own album once he returned home. For some reason this had not been carried out.²⁴⁶ Richard Gordon Smith, the wealthy British naturalist, writes about purchasing photographs in Japan in his diary on 9 January 1899 that in the morning, he had been very busy getting the photographs he wanted. He had to look for the images among hundreds of prints.²⁴⁷ He also noted that he bought a photograph which showed a Japanese *geisha* in a dressing Kimono to send to England as an example of eccentric clothes from the sense/culture of European people.²⁴⁸ Checking the condition of the prints, Plates. 295, 297, 298, and 299 have triangle marks on the each four corners of the back of the prints. It shows that the prints were framed in the same manner, probably fitted into a cut mount by each of the corners. It can be reasoned that these four prints might have belonged to the same owner before they were sold to a second-hand book shop. The paper is very thin, in mint condition, easy to roll up and tear. The prints are in a surprisingly good condition considering this 'unmounted state'.

²⁴⁶ Quoting from the letter of Terry Bennett to the author.

²⁴⁷ Richard Gordon Smith, *Gordon Smith no Nippon Gyoten Nikki*. Edited by Hiroshi Aramata. translated by Hiroshi Aramata and Etsuko Oohashi. (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1994), 70.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.



桑田庄三郎

Figure. 34. Portrait of Shozaburo Kuwada.
From Zuisho Udaka, *Shashin Kotohajime*
(Tokyo: Yanagihara Bookshop, 1979), 138.

The Work of Shozaburo Kuwada

Plate. 300 includes much more information on the print. On the left side of the copy / No 11./, and on the right side /COPY-RIGHT./THE DOCHU OF TAYU/KUWADA. KIOTO./ are printed. From the condition of the white frame around the letters, it is likely that the photographer put the ready-written paper on the print when it was being developed. In 1876, the copyright of photographer was established in Japan. It is thus certain that the photograph was taken or produced after 1876.

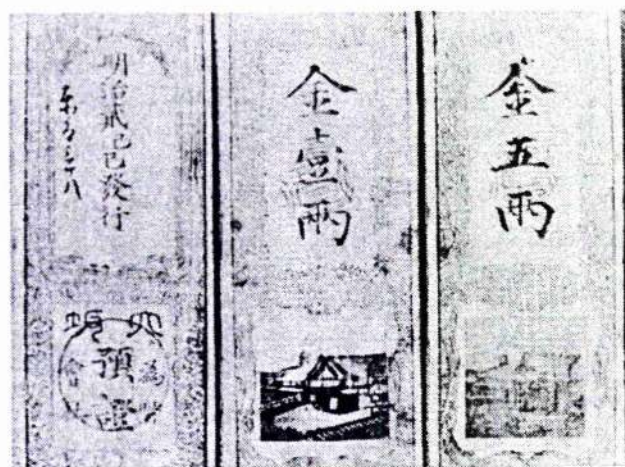
From the name 'Kuwada' and the place of Kyoto, it is probable that the photographer is Shozaburo Kuwada, who acted in Kyoto from 1875 as one of the first Japanese professional photographers. Zuisho Udaka, the historian of Japanese early photography, studied details of his life in his book *Shashin Kotohajime*- 'The beginning of photography'. The following information about his life will be mainly based on this material.²⁴⁹

Shozaburo Kuwada (1855-1932) : Early Japanese Photographer²⁵⁰

Shozaburo Kuwada was born in *Ansei* 2 (1855) in Kyoto. His family originally sold goods for the warrior class such as armour, swords and bows. Although it once did good business, they had to close down their shop. One of the reasons for this was that there was not such a demand for *Samurai* equipment after the *Meiji* period. In *Meiji* 4 (1871), the *Meiji* government abolished the wearing of swords and the old long hair style for men. The country, gradually, was changing from a traditional culture to a Westernised culture. Besides, the family also lost their house in a fire. The Kuwada family broke

²⁴⁹ Zuisho Udaka, *Shashin Kotohajime* (Tokyo: Yanagihara Bookshop, 1979), 133-134, 137-139.

²⁵⁰ See Fig. 34.



廣札防止に使われた写真金札

Figure. 35. The banknote which used photograph.
From Udaka, 133.

up owing to these problems, and he was forced to start to work as a shop boy in a chemist's shop in *Keio* 2 (1866) when he was twelve years old.

At that time, the Department of the Governor of Kyoto solicited applications for students of Science & Chemistry. The first contact Kuwada had with photography was at the school of Science & Chemistry. The son of Kuwada's master applied and was accepted as a full time student, and Kuwada was ordered to be his attendant. His work was to carry his master's son's schoolbooks and equipment and to look after him. Even though this was a very lowly position, it meant he went to school every day and could enter the lecture rooms.

One day Kuwada was amazed by a lecture on photography, and the chemical system of photography, given by Reisuke Tsuji, who was a scientist in the Dutch school at that time. He became captivated by the idea of photography, but he could not be a student because of his status as a servant. Finally, he decided to leave his master's house, and wandered from place to place in the Kobe and Osaka area.

During this time, he met Bokusai Yokota²⁵¹ who stayed in Kobe. Yokota was a photographer and he accepted Shozaburo as his assistant. They both came from the same home town and he could see the young boy's enthusiasm for photography.²⁵²

In *Meiji* 2 (1869), Yokota got an order to take pictures for a special bank note from the Osaka government commercial office.²⁵³ Kuwada was engaged

²⁵¹ The real name of Bokusai Yokota is Hikobe Yokota. He was born in Kyoto and after the *Meiji* Restoration went to Nagasaki and mastered the technique of photography. In *Meiji* 2 (1869), he went to Osaka and worked in the photographic section of the Commercial Mint Department in the Department of Osaka.

At that time, the finance policy of the new government was being developed. False bills were common. The department had to work out how to prevent this problem and decided to use photographs on bank notes to prevent fraud.

First, they took a photograph of the gate of the Osaka commerce office's entrance. Bills worth more than one *Ryo* (*Ryo* is one of the old unit of Japanese money) had the photograph on them. Moreover, they used a tally seal on the bill before issuing it.

²⁵² Uda, 138.

²⁵³ See Fig. 35.

as the Yokoda's assistant in the project. The project was a success. However at a time of change in the organisation's system, the project was transferred from the office of commerce to the new department of the Government Mint. Therefore, Yokota decided to move his office and house to Onomichi in Hiroshima. On the other hand, Kuwada decided to return to Kyoto, and in *Meiji* 8 (1875) opened his first photo studio at Yanagibaba Matsubara in Kyoto. He was twenty one years old.

As soon as Kuwada opened his studio he became one of the most favoured photographers - we know this from the fact that his name appeared on the list of the most popular photographers in the Kyoto area, the "Hit Parade" as it were, in *Meiji* 8 (1875). He was not only a successful early photographer but also a talented businessman.

One of his first big successes came with a unique idea for the tobacco business. At that time, the Japanese market for rolling tobacco depended on imported tobacco. Kichibe Murai had studied how to produce rolling tobacco in Japan and finally succeeded to produce the first rolling tobacco in Japan. Kuwada suggested that Kichibe print photographs of beautiful women on the tobacco case.

Udaka suggests that Kuwada got this idea from his work experience in Osaka commerce, when he made bank notes with pictures. The tobacco was branded 'Hero' and 'Sunrise' etc., and sold all over the country. The reasonable price and the idea of the photographs became very popular. Both Kichibe Murai and Kuwada made a lot of money from this business.

In 1875, Kuwada started to sell photographic equipment and materials as well as running the photograph studio. This was the first photograph shop



桑田商会店内

Figure. 36. The inside of Kuwada & Co.
From *Nihon Shashinka-kyokai*,
Nihon Shashinshi 1840-1945
(Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 470.

in the *Kansai*²⁵⁴ area. Later, in *Meiji* 30 (1897) he opened a direct import shop of photographic equipment and material called 'Kuwada & Co.' in Osaka.²⁵⁵ The company became a well-known firm, not only in Japan but also abroad. It is generally said that the success was supported by Kichibe Murai.

Udaka mentioned that he felt so successful that he began writing his autobiography, *Tsuki no Kagami* (The Mirror of the Moon) and *Kuwa no Wakanae* (The Young Mulberry Plant) in *Taisho* 5 (1897).²⁵⁶ He gave his friends these publications as his commemoration of his 50th birthday. He died in Kyoto at the age of seventy-seven.

Image of Plate. 300

Plate. 300 can be recognised as one of the representative works of Shozaburo Kuwada. The title of the photograph is 'THE DOCHU OF TAYU'. This can be translated into English as 'The parade of the *Tayus*' - the title of the highest rank of courtesan in the quarter of government-regulated centres for prostitution.²⁵⁷

Also, on the back of the print, there is a pencil note 'The Cherry flower procession Kyoto'. The three largest and most famous quarters were Yoshiwara in Tokyo, Shimabara in Kyoto, and Shimmachi in Osaka. Although it is not very clear on Plate. 300, the name 'Eigetsubashi' - 'Eigetsu Bridge' can be seen on the lamp in the left hand side of the print. This bridge

²⁵⁴ The generic name of area which includes Osaka, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama, Hyogo prefectures.

²⁵⁵ See Fig. 36.

²⁵⁶ Udaka, 138-139.

²⁵⁷ The higher the rank of the courtesan, the more money was charged for their company, and the women at the top of the hierarchy had a considerable amount of discretion as to whom they would meet. The *tayu* had to be courted by the customers and generally money alone was no guarantee of receiving their favours. A certain degree of style, flair, and culture was necessary to win them. Often the higher-class women were famous for both their beauty and skill in the arts, and they were the subjects of many contemporary woodcut prints and literary works. The information based on *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1983).

is located in Kyoto. This photograph was probably taken at Shimabara quarter in Kyoto.

The parade of *Tayu* was one of the grand spectacles of the quarter. The parade moved in stately splendour through the main street of the quarter, and ordinary townsmen and visitors from the countryside flocked to view the spectacle. Four *Tayus* can be seen walking under big Japanese umbrellas. Probably the crowds are concentrating on the first *Tayu* because of the position of the people. It is well known that *Tayu* had a unique manner of walking in processions with their special 'geta' - or high clogs. Three small girls with white faces in fine kimono dresses, two in front and another near the third umbrella and slightly out of focus, can be seen in the print. These are the maids of the *Tayu*, called *kamuro* or *kaburo*, styled after young female pages who attended the court nobles in an earlier age.²⁵⁸

After the quarters were prohibited in 1916, it was not possible to see the *Tayu* and the parades and this photograph shows a lost side of the social history of Japan.²⁵⁹ From this image, it is interesting to note how the quarters, and unique system of 'prostitution' were accepted as a part of people's life and became part of a sophisticated culture in Japan. Many Japanese works of art were produced from the life of the quarters, such as woodcut prints, novels, dramas and photographs²⁶⁰ encouraged by the special but real life of people who had to live under the strict, harsh and sad life in quarters. Most women who worked in quarters died before their contracts expired.

²⁵⁸ A number of *kamuro* who showed promise of beauty or cleverness could themselves become high-class courtesans, and were trained to this end by the owners of the brothels where they lived.

²⁵⁹ Yoshiwara in Tokyo had a history of almost three-and-a-half centuries until 1958 as the location of the most famous of the government-regulated centres for prostitution in Japan.

²⁶⁰ As it was noted, Yokohama Prints include images which were taken in quarters or setting scenes of the life in quarters.



Figure. 37. Portrait of Hikoma Uyeno, the age of twenty three which was attributed to Kuwajiro Horie, wet-glass plate, 1860. From Ozawa, Takeshi. ed. *Bakumatsu-Shashin no Jidai* (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobo, 1996), 141.



Figure. 38. Portrait of Uyeno Family. Hikoma Uyeno(right). From Ozawa, Takeshi. ed. *Bakumatsu-Shashin no Jidai* (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobo, 1996), 142.



Figure. 39. Standard reverse of *carte de visite* which was used by Hikoma Uyeno's studio.



Figure. 40. Ibid.

Kuwada probably took this photograph from the first floor or roof of a house in the quarter. It is interesting that Kuwada concentrated on capturing the mass of watching people's excitement rather than to focus on the *Tayus*. He records the culture of ordinary people's life through his powerful image.

Cartes de Visite

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery holds four *cartes de visite* in its collections. Photographers can usually be identified from the typical *cartes de visite*, which has the name of the photo studio or photographer in flourishing type on the back of the card. The *carte de visite* was introduced in the 1860s and soon served as a popular form of visiting card in Japan. In this section, the date of photographs and the background of the photographers will be examined.

Hikoma Uyeno (1838-1904)²⁶¹

Hikoma Uyeno, together with Renjo Shimooka, is regarded as one of the first Japanese professional photographers. Both of them opened their studios in 1862, Uyeno in Nagasaki and Renjo in Yokohama. They were known as 'Renjo Shimooka is East and Hikoma Uyeno is West'²⁶²; this describes their fame as photographers all over Japan.²⁶³

The photograph in Plate. 301 (also see Plate. 301a), was taken between 1862 and 1904. Comparing the reverse designs of Uyeno's *cartes de visite*, it can be said that the Plate. 301a of *carde de visite* is very simple in design. Probably it was produced at an early stage in his career.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ See Figs. 37 and 38.

²⁶² Tokyo, *Edo*, is located in the east side of Japan and Nagasaki is located in the west of Japan.

²⁶³ Takeshi Ozawa, *Nihon no Shashinshi* (Tokyo: Nikkor Club, 1986), 45.

²⁶⁴ See Figs. 39 and 40.

It could be said that Uyeno had been given the opportunity to work in the world of photography from birth. Born in Nagasaki in 1838, he was the son of Shunnojo Uyeno a successful merchant who imported the first daguerreotype camera to Japan, from a Dutch ship in 1848.

His spirit as a pioneer photographer can be seen even in a sketch of the history of photography.²⁶⁵ One of his remarkable contributions to the history of photography in Japan is his science handbook, *Seimikyoku Hikkei*, published in 1862. In the book, he described how to take photographs by the collodion process. Bennett mentions that his studio in Nagasaki was very popular, especially among foreigners, and the studio is mentioned in Pierre Loti's well-known novel *Madame Chrysanthemum*.²⁶⁶

Uyeno's portraits are regarded as being in the style of the French aeronaut and artist-photographer, Felix Tournacho Nadar (1820-1910), who was one of the earliest and representative artist-photographers. The photographs show the naturally expressing the sitter's character in a simple atmosphere.²⁶⁷ His sitters were historic figures, especially young politicians who lived at a turning point in Japanese history and acted as leaders in changing the old style government, *Bakufu*, to the new political systems of the *Meiji* period. His portraits show the energy of these sitters, their ambition as well as providing eye witness recordings of Japanese history. Ozawa

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|-----|------|---|
| 265 | 1858 | Uyeno started wet-plate under the direction of Johannes L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort, the Belgian-born Dutch physician. |
| | 1859 | Uyeno took lessons from Rossier a professional French photographer who visited Japan. |
| | 1862 | Uyeno published <i>Seimikyoku Hikkei</i> , 'Hand Book to Science', which described Western science and the Dutch language. |
| | | Uyeno opened his photo studio in Nagasaki. |
| | 1874 | Uyeno joined the Venus observation expedition of American group which was led by Dr. Davidson and took photographs of Venus passing the surface of the sun. |
| | 1877 | Uyeno took photographs of the Seinan Senso-West South War, with two assistants. |
| | 1881 | Uyeno tried taking photograph by dry-plate process. |

²⁶⁶ Terry Bennett, *Early Japanese Images* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1996), 49.

²⁶⁷ Ozawa, 52.

comments that many of Uyeno's works of art have been regarded as masterpieces because his skills as a chemist and his native talent combined to give his images great historical importance.²⁶⁸

Tokoku Shimizu (1841-1907)²⁶⁹

Tokoku Shimizu ran his studio between 1868 and 1872 at Takasago-cho, Yokohama, and moved to Nihonbashi, Tokyo in 1872 at a time when many other photographers in Yokohama were opening branches there. This was because society and the main official functions moved to Tokyo.

In *Edo*, Shimizu was a pupil of Siebold,²⁷⁰ a medical doctor in addition to being known as a pioneer of Japanese studies, and during a sketching class in 1861, he saw a camera for the first time. This moment became his inspiration to start learning photography. He returned to Nagasaki with Siebold and learned about photography from him.²⁷¹ His successful career can be seen from the fact that his name appears in the list of the 'Top Three Rich and Famous People' in 1872, along with two other photographers.²⁷² The name of Shimizu, together with other photographers, also appeared in the 'Tokyo Famous People Hit Parade' in 1875.²⁷³ This shows not only the success of Shimizu but also how photographers in general became rich following the popularity of photography in Japan. At that time, photographers were regarded as high-class professionals like lawyers and

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ See Plates. 302 and 302a.

²⁷⁰ Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) was born in Bavaria. Having entered Dutch government service as an army doctor, he was appointed physician at the Dutch settlement on Dejima in Nagasaki in 1823. In 1824, he established a boarding school, the Narutaki-juku, at Nagasaki, then on the outskirts of the city of Nagasaki. He taught Western medicine and treated Japanese patients, accepting for payment the ethnographic and art objects that became the foundation of the Siebold collection. He left Japan in 1830, became professor of Japanese at Leyden State University, but returned again to Japan in 1859. He worked for two years on behalf of the Netherlands Trading Company. The information based on *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1983).

²⁷¹ Japan Photographers Association, 467.

²⁷² Ibid., 370.

²⁷³ Ozawa, 96.

doctors because they had to have skills in foreign languages such as Dutch and English as well as knowledge of Chemistry and Science.²⁷⁴

Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (1839-1911)

Details of Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz's career have been examined in Section I, 'Yokohama Prints', because his activities lie mainly in this field.

According to Yokohama Shiryokan,²⁷⁵ he opened his first studio 'Stillfried & Co.' at 9 Kyoruchi, which was a residential area for foreigners, in Yokohama between 1871 and 1872. After having changed the address and the name of his photo studio several times,²⁷⁶ he settled on the names 'Japan Photographic Association' and 'Stillfried & Andersen' and settled his studio at No 17 Kyoruchi from 1883 to 1885, when he left Japan. There is no clear reason as to why he so often moved his studio and changed the name of his business.

The printing, Plate. 303, on the back of the mount of Plate. 303a reads /JAPAN PHOTOGRAPHIC ASSOCIATION/ BARON STILLFRIED/ OF THE FIRM/ STILLFRIED & ANDERSEN./ and by tracing his career, the image must have been taken between 1876 and 1885. It can further be assumed that the image was taken between 1879 and 1885 because all three of his names were printed.

²⁷⁴ Japan Photographers Association, 370.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 237.

²⁷⁶ The details are follows as;

The studio: Stillfried & Co. (1871-74) - Japan Photographic Association (-76) - Japan Photographic Association = Stillfried & Andersen (-79) - Baron Stillfried (-83) - Japan Photographic Association = Stillfried & Andersen (-85).

The address : 9 Kyoruchi, No.61 (1871-72) - No.59 (-77) - No.17 (-79) - Mo.809-83) - No17 (-85).

From Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan. ed. *Sai Shoku Arubamu Meiji No Nihhon Yokohama Shashin No Sekai* (Coloured Album Japan in Meiji the World of Yokohama Print) (Yokohama: Yurindo Ltd, 1990), 237.

Shinichi Suzuki (c1835²⁷⁷-1919 ?)

Shinichi Suzuki opened his studio at 6-112 Benten-dori, Yokohama in 1873. He moved his studio to 1-1 Masuna-cho, Yokohama in 1884 and remained there for the rest of his career until 1892. As /Aug/ 81/ R Scott/ is hand written on the back of the mount, it was probably taken in 1881 (see Plates. 304 and 304a). Suzuki also opened branches of his studio at Kudanzaka, Tokyo and Honchodori, Yokohama.

Suzuki was born in Iwanishi village Izu kamagun and moved to Yokohama to study painting under Charles Wirgman. There he also learned basic photography, and later chose to follow a career in this field. He first worked under Renjyo Shimooka, already well known as a photographic pioneer, for seven years from 1870 until he opened his own studio in Nagoya in 1876. His desire to improve his skill took him to San Francisco for one year to work as an apprentice under I. W. Taber. He returned to Japan and opened a studio in Tokyo in 1881. It is recorded that he was commissioned to photograph international exhibitions in France and Spain and a Japanese domestic exhibition. His career came to a peak when he took the portrait photographs of the *Meiji* Emperor and Empress with Riyo Maruki around 1889.²⁷⁸

Conclusion

These four *cartes de visite* illustrate some of the problems associated with investigating early photographs as works of art. The images are full of significance from a historical perspective, but it does not help them to be

²⁷⁷ There are two records about his year of birth, 1835 and 1855.

²⁷⁸ The information based on Terry Bennett, "Early Photographic Images of 19th Century Japan." *The Japan Society - Proceedings*, no. 126 (Winter 1995) : 69. and *Early Japanese Images*, 57.

appreciated as works of art when they occur as the single representations of a particular photographer's work in a wide ranging collection.

It is difficult to consider the elements of composition, style and subject from an isolated image, in contrast to a collection such as that of Andrew Carnegie, where we have a sizeable body of work by a named photographer. Any investigation, therefore, inevitably tends to centre around the contributions that men like Shozaburo Kuwada, Hikoma Uyeno, Renjyo Shimooka, Tokoku Shimizu, and Shinichi Suzuki, made to the development of Japanese photography through popularising the medium rather than examining their works from an artistic point of view.

Their great contribution to and important position in the history of early Japanese photography is obvious. Without the curiosity and effort of such pioneer photographers of the *cartes de visite*, the flourishing period of photography which followed and the rapid progress of Japanese photography would not have happened.

CONCLUSION

At present there are about 2,500 to 3,000 early photographs of Japan held in major British institutions, as has been noted in Appendix 1. Looking at the 361 photographs which are in collections in Scotland, most of the collections have never been exhibited to the public by the museums or other institutions concerned. Moreover, some of them have not been studied or catalogued, even when they have been part of a collection for up to fifty years. Why have these early Japanese photographs not been exhibited, researched or particularly valued as part of museum collections? A few pointers might be given in explanation.

Type of Collection

Collections in museums and archives have the advantage of existing in a stable environment. Unfortunately this can result in the collections being too stable, little looked at and little researched. The work of the keepers of these collections is always wide ranging and filled with many pressing tasks. But it is a vicious circle that must be addressed, that if a collection is not documented it will not be used, yet if interest is not shown it will never be given priority in the museum collection.

Collections in business archives or records offices generally consist of a very large quantity of material such as minute and record books receipts, accounts, contacts, business letters, catalogues etc. These masses of paper documents often hide information rather than revealing it, not only in the case of photographic materials but also in the case of other significant materials. It is difficult to spotlight a specific item. In the case of the collections of Glasgow University Business Records Centre, there are additional materials which belong to other institutions such as Glasgow University Library Archives and Glasgow Regional Records Office. Little of

this scattered material can be linked together through the name of a company or a person. Also it can be pointed out that the box of photographs was passed to the centre without proper records or documentation from those who knew about the photographs first hand. Such a situation has led to very basic cataloguing with little information being recorded about individual photographs.

Collections which have originated in private collections also carry problems. These types of collections have an uncertain basis, with prints being bought and sold in the art market. For example, Scotland has lost Japanese material through the sale of Lord Elgin's collections to Canada and gained material through the acquisitions of Peter Riddell. This fluid situation makes them more difficult to study. Documentation of the collection is often poor and there is also the question of when a collection becomes 'Scottish' or ceases to be Scottish. When approaching a study like this we can only accept things as they are, and try to add to the history and provenance of the photographs through research.

Historical Interpretation

Even though the people who figure in the photographs and the original owners of the collections contributed greatly to the history of Japan, in Scotland they are regarded as only some of the many Scots who have gone to other countries. How many Scottish and Japanese people are conscious of their countries' strong connections today? To Japanese people, America has been particularly the most influential country since World War II. To Scotland, Japan has not been influential in its history. Apart from work such as that by Olive Checkland in the field of Economic history, and artists influenced by Japanese art such as the 'Glasgow Boys' or Charles Rennie Mackintosh, the history of Scottish and Japanese links has faded.

However as these photographs which have been studied show, in the Scottish 'golden age' - the years between c 1830-1914, Scotland was a world leader in the fields of science and technology - industry and educational systems. Scottish people were involved in and contributed to modern Japanese history. In this way, the photographs are very important in illustrating the unique relationships of both countries, not only for Japanese history but also for Scottish history in the future. Especially now, as people increasingly look back on their own history and the history of their nations to confirm their identity, photographs provide excellent research material, not only as documentary evidence but because they produce an emotional response through real visual images of actual people and places.

Artistic Interpretation

In the case of the Yokohama Prints, their ambiguous status as works of art should be mentioned. Yokohama Prints were a mass-produced item which did not in the past have much prestige in museum collections. Also most of them would have belonged to private collections and many would have just been thrown away at some stage. It seems that the prints were regarded as just old Japanese 'souvenirs'.

What has hindered scholars from regarding Yokohama Prints as works of art? The first aspect is the problem of identifying photographers of Yokohama Prints. It is difficult to identify the individual photographer or artist, as has already been pointed out, and so, without access to a large body of work to evaluate a photographer's style and the way of working, it is difficult to study the prints as art history. This has created a weak and complex condition to study the object.

Another aspect is the unclear position of their photographic meaning. Yokohama Prints were produced for introducing and remembering Japan. Therefore, the prints consist of many kinds of images, anthropological, views

of buildings, religious monuments, cities and ports, social records such as people's life, costumes. They include not only pure documentary images but also acted and posed images produced for foreign taste. This mix of prints, pure documentary photographs and reproduced images by setting and acting causes some to regard Yokohama Prints as not purely Japanese historical records.

The photographs, especially ethnographic and documentary images, have long been regarded as records or documentary material in museums and not as works of art. This double ambiguity between 'document & art' and 'photograph & art', has resulted in the Yokohama Prints being shelved and put aside from other museum items.

There has, however, been a resurgence in interest in photography of all types. Colin Gordon noted that when he found old photograph negatives in an antique shop in 1975:

This was also the first time I had ever seen photographic negatives of any age offered for sale. That in itself is strange: most middle class families since the turn of the century have owned more photographs than books but, whereas books are the roughage of the junk dealer's diet, negatives are very rare dish. What happens to them? Are negatives simply too plain even for those ready to label everything 'antique'? Photographs, however, link us more immediately with people of the past than most of what we value; they are more truly personal. Furniture and domestic trappings may have been slaves to many; but to own a man's negatives is more of a private and, perhaps, even a trespass.²⁷⁹

At the present time, not only modern images but also old photographs, including documentary images are gaining attention as works of art. Recently, many special museums for photography have been built up and not

²⁷⁹ Colin Gordon, *A Richer Dust-Echoes from an Edwardian Album* (London: Book Club Associates, 1978), 8.

only collectors but also ordinary people show their interest in photographs. The movement which recently resulted in many publications about old photographs for the general public can be seen as an example. Also early photographs frequently appear in auctions, with Yokohama Prints being sold for between £20 and £1,000 per print, depending on the subjects, specific images such as tattoo, landscapes and images of people's life, photographers and conditions of the images.

In our modern life, there is no day in which we do not see photographic images. It is no exaggeration to say that photographs are among the most familiar items in our daily life. People start to regard photographs as having a unique position as 'art', adding expression to their basic function as a document. Studying nineteenth century photographs and photographers shows us exactly how we started to create this relationship with 'photography' and how people absorbed the challenging new processes. The medium of 'photography' is part of our life and our way of expression. I believe this expression is art.

To the Japanese, Yokohama Prints are nostalgic images of Japan in the nineteenth century. For the most part, we can see realistic representations of what nineteenth century life was like through real images of Japanese people's life, figures and landscape which have been lost in the modern period. For example, the views which we can see on Plates. 141, 151, 154, 218 do not exist in Japan any more. They not only tell us the facts of the past, but also show the beauty of the past. To Western people, the prints are still exotic, mysterious and idealised images of the far East which is still a very different culture to them.

From this, Yokohama Prints can be recognised as 'art', with a beauty and style which certainly attracts people's interest. Of early travel photographs it is noted that "after a hundred years the pictures have become

archaeology and their photographs, however, they constituted a new kind of reality. The melody that lingers on leans towards nostalgia, but to some degree the tendency was clearly there from the beginning."²⁸⁰ Contemplating the social boom and the background of Yokohama Prints, these albums and prints have a value in studying social history as well as the history of early photography.

This dissertation has studied early Japanese photographs as primary material and not as secondary or illustrative images. The photographs tell us, with real images of what happened in the past, more of the history of Scotland and Japan. Looking at these faces and figures, we do not feel the passing of time, and create an emotional link with our past. The collections of early Japanese photographs have a double significance - why they have come to be in Scotland, and what Japanese and Scots saw and experienced at that time. All of these collections are full of opportunities for investigating the historical connections between Scotland and Japan in the future.

²⁸⁰ Rainer Fabian, and Hans-Christian Adam, with introduction by Sam Wagstaff, *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (London: Thames and Husdon Ltd., 1983), 7.

APPENDIX 1

Scottish Institutions with Early Japanese Photograph Collections

1. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum ; Moodie Street, Dunfermline, Fife.
-170 images in two albums by Stillfried and Adamson Co. in c. 1879.
2. Edinburgh Central City Library ; George IV Bridge, Edinburgh.
-One photograph album taken by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz at the end of last century; Henry Dyer Collection
3. National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh.
-One album published by Isabella Bird in 1897.
-One album donated by Archibald A. Gordon in 1889-90
4. Scottish National Portrait Gallery ; Edinburgh
-6 photographs in the Riddell Collection
5. National Museums of Scotland-Library ; Chambers Street, Edinburgh.
-Micro film of V & A collection by Felice Beato
6. The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT - private collection ; Dunfermline, Fife.
-3 albumen prints, dated 1858.
7. University of Glasgow, Business Records Centre ; 77-81 Dumbarton Road, Glasgow.
-Around 10 photographs from 1863, 1874, 1912 etc.

English institutions with early Japanese photograph collections

1. Birmingham Central City Library ; Birmingham
-207 full plate photographs in 1865-91 in Sir J B Stone Collection
-Several in nineteenth century Japanese Photograph albums
2. Foreign & Commonwealth Office Library, London
-Rather small and not very comprehensive collection pre 1945
3. Haslemere Educational Museum ; Surrey
-Nagasaki and Hiroshima after the atomic bomb, small number of photographs

4. Horsham District Council ; West Sussex
 - 25 uncoloured
 - 21 hand coloured maybe by Felice Beato
5. Museum of Mankind, British Museum ; London
 - 100 stereo views published by Underwood
 - 10 coloured prints by Felice Beato in the 1900's, 1865-68
6. National Museum of Photography, Film and Television ; Bradford
 - 66 images in two albums
 - One photograph of Mt. Fuji
7. Pitt Rivers Museum ; Oxford
 - Rough estimate 5 albums
 - 150 synthetic series images by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz and Uchida Kyuichi before 1931 which came from Dammann Studio in Hamburg
 - Series of Ainu from Munro
 - 50 portraits taken in Paris in 1864 by L. Rousseau
 - Over 300 high quality snapshots Japanese cities by a merchant seaman in 1907-08
8. Royal Geographical Society, Picture Library ; London
 - Some material from 1860's to the 1930's
9. The British Library ; London
 - 139 photographs in 1880, 1906, 1920-30 including some by amateur photographer the Marquis of Zetland with hand coloured prints
10. The British Architectural Library ; London
 - A few scattered images prior to that date(1845-1945)
11. The National Art Library ; London
 - Have collections
12. The Royal Photographic Society ; Bath
 - Have collections
13. The Victoria & Albert Museum ; London
 - Have large collections

The institutions which do not hold early Japanese photographs

Scotland

- Aberdeen Central City Library ; Aberdeen
- Aberdeen University Library ; Aberdeen

- Burrell Collection ; Glasgow
- Dundee Central City Library ; Dundee
- Dundee University Archives & Manuscripts department ; Dundee
- Edinburgh University Library ; Edinburgh
- Glasgow City Library, The Mitchell Library ; Glasgow
- Royal Museums of Scotland, Library
Science Instrument Department
Asia collection
- St Andrews University Archives ; St Andrews Fife
- University of Glasgow Library ; Glasgow

England

- BBC Photograph Library ; London
- Fashion Research Centre ; Bath
- Orleans House Gallery ; Middlesex

Institutions which have not confirmed enquiry

- Bradford Heritage Recording Unit ; Bradford
- Helmshore Textile Museum ; Lancashire
- The University of Wales ; Aberystwyth

APPENDIX 2

'Yokohama Prints' : Negative Numbers and Titles Provided by the Photographers or Studios

Titles or numbers which were used by the original photographer or studio are listed after the name of the photographer or studio. The list will take the following form, (1) print accession number (referring to the Plate. Number in the Illustrations of this thesis) as 'Cata No.', (2) Arabic catalogue number in original negatives as 'Number(A)', (3) the numbers are written in Japanese characters, *Kanji*, the numbers are supplied with Arabic numbers in square brackets, thus[] in Number(B), (4) title in original negative, (5) photographers or studio. When the original photographer is Beato but reprinted by Stillfried this is written as Beato(Stillfried). This information is extremely important in identifying photographers or studios.

The names of photographers are noted as:

Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz - Stillfried

Felice Beato - Beato

Kozaburo Tamamura -Tamamura

Kuichi Uchida - Uchida

Shuzaburo Usui - Usui

Original by Felice Beato, imprint by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz - Beato (Stillfried)

Cata No.	Number(A)	Number(B)	Title	Photographer/ imprint studio
1,2		[1,2]	<i>Kanji</i>	

Glasgow Business Record Center

37.		Uchida
38.		Uchida

Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum

45.	669	Uchida
46.	670	Uchida
47.	797	Stillfried
48.	787	Stillfried
49.		Beato
50.		Stillfried

51.	739		
52.	625		Stillfried
53.	806		Stillfried
54.		[341]	Usui
55.		[345]	Usui
56.		[3012]	Usui
57.		[304]	Usui
58.	718		Stillfried
59.			Stillfried
60.	598		Beato
61.			Beato
62.	586		Beato
63.			Stillfried
64.	666		Stillfried
65.	722		Stillfried
66.	659		Stillfried
67.			Stillfried
68.	607		Beato (Stillfried)
69.	834		Beato
70.	735		
71.	826		Stillfried
72.	751		Stillfried
73.			
74.	637		
75.	750		Stillfried
76.		[343]	Usui
77.		[344]	Usui
78.		[2or395]	Usui
79.		[375]	Usui
80.		[383]	Usui
81.		[330]	Usui
82.		[342]	Usui
83.		[349]	Usui
84.		[380]	Usui
85.		[339]	Usui
86.		[303]	Usui
87.		[302]	Usui
88.		[?19]	Usui
89.			Beato
90.	822		Stillfried
91.	760		Stillfried
92.			
93.			Beato
94.	828		Beato (Stillfried)
95.	cut No		Usui
96.			
97.		[61]	Usui
98.		[33]	Usui
99.			Usui [?]

KATASE

100.		[171]	Usui
101.	cut No		Usui
102.			Usui
103.		[18]	Usui
104.		[165]	Usui
105.			Usui
106.		[157]	Usui
107.		[36]	Usui
108.	93	SHIBA	Usui
109.	109		Stillfried [?]
110.		[184]	Usui
111.			Usui
112.		[389 or 1389]	Usui
113.		[374]	Usui
114.		[398]	Usui
115.		[325]	Usui
116.		[?333]cut	Usui
117.		[??2]cut	Usui
118.		[385]3 is cut	Usui
119.		[307]	Usui
120.		[384]	Usui
121.		[305]	Usui
122.			Usui
123.			Usui
124.	778		Stillfried
125.			Beato (Stillfried)
126.	633		Stillfried
127.	827		Stillfried
128.			Stillfried
129.			Stillfried
130.	806		Stillfried
131.		[195]	Usui
132.			Usui
133.		[224]	Usui
134.		[172]	Usui
135.		TENPLE KAMAKURA	Usui
136.		[183]	Usui
137.		[208]	Usui
138.			Usui
139.		[99]	Usui
140.	311	NIKKO	
141.	119	TOKIO	
142.	123	SHIBA	
143.	10	DAIBUTZ	Usui
144.		[136]	Usui
145.		[174]	Usui
146.		[3]	Usui
147.		[209]	Usui
148.		[19?]cut No	Usui

149.		[193]		Usui
150.		[1]		Usui
151.		[6?]cut No		Usui
152.		[158]		Usui
153.		[159]		Usui
154.		[63]		Usui
155.				Usui
156.		[365]		Usui
157.				Usui
158.		[177]		Usui
159.		[29]		Usui
160.		[13]		Usui
161.		[30]		Usui
162.	324		NIKKO	Usui
163.	101		SHIBA	Usui
164.		[56]		Usui
165.		[8]		Usui
166.		[21]		Usui
167.		[160]		Usui
168.				Usui
169.		[46]		Usui
170.		[7]		Usui
171.		cut No	cut title	Usui
172.		[9]		Usui
173.		[6]		Usui
174.				Usui
175.		[?80]cut No		Usui
176.		[175]		Usui
177.		[19]		Usui
178.	1967			Usui
179.	2024			Usui
180.		[54]		Usui
181.		[74]		Usui
182.		[66]		Usui
183.		[6]		Usui
184.		[81]		Usui
185.		[?3]cut No		Usui
186.		[62]		Usui
187.		[41]		Usui
188.				Usui
189.		[72]		Usui
190.				Usui
191.				Beato (Stillfried)
192.	643			Beato (Stillfried)
193.	762			Stillfried
194.		[328]		Usui
195.		[376]		Usui
196.		[388]		Usui
197.		[397]		Usui

198.	808	Stillfried
199.	756	Stillfried
200.	765	Stillfried
201.	707	Stillfried
202.		Stillfried
203.		Stillfried
204.		Beato (Stillfried)
205.	652	Stillfried
206.	824	Stillfried
207.	619	Beato (Stillfried)
208.		Stillfried
209.		Stillfried
210.		Stillfried
211.	644	Beato (Stillfried)
212.		Stillfried
213.	767	Stillfried

The National Library of Scotland

217.			
218.			
219.	568A	OURA AT NAGASAKI	
220.			
221.	NO.222	HARBOR OF KOBE	
222.			
223.	33	TOWN OF OSAKA	
224.			
225.	948	NARA	Tamamura
226.		LARGE COPPEL, MAN. IN NARA	
227.	955	KASUGA AT NARA	Tamamura
228.	947	BRONZE BELL AT NARA	Tamamura
229.	930	A KIOTO TOWN FROM MARUYAMA	Tamamura
230.		KITANO-YASIRO	
231.	NO2		
232.		TEMPEE IN THE KIYOMIDSU	
233.	923	HONGANJI GATE AT KIOTO	Tamamura
234.	913	YAMI HOTEL AT KIOTO	Tamamura
235.		THE LARGE BELL OF CHIONIN KIOTO	
236.		OCHIAI-SEKIMON, IN HODSU-GAWA	
237.	906	ARASHI YAMA AT KIOTO	Tamamura
238.	NO.422	HONMOKU	Tamamura
239.	NO.378	HONMOKU	Tamamura
240.	463	FUJIYAMA MIRROWED IN KAEAGUCHI LAKE.	Tamamura
241.			
242.	NO.404	MINATOAWA	Tamamura
243.	NO.266	TOMIOKA	Tamamura

244.	NO.302	IMA ICHI ROAD TO NIKKO	Tamamura
245.	313	ROOD AT NIKKO.	Tamamura
246.	NO.295	SACRED BRIDGE AT NIKKO	Tamamura
247.	349	GAMAN RIVER AT NIKKO	Tamamura
248.	NO.273	GARDEN AT MANGANJI NIKKO	Tamamura
249.	NO.353	DAINICHIDO GARDEN AT NIKKO.	Tamamura
250.	NO.357	YOMEIMON GATE OF NIKKO	Tamamura
251.	NO.346	YOMEIMON GATE OF NIKKO	Tamamura
252.	NO.424	NIWOMON GATE OF NIKKO	Tamamura
253.	NO.525	SHIBA AT TOKIO	Tamamura
254.	NO.437	MANGANJI AT NIKKO	Tamamura
255.	212	NIKKO	Tamamura
256.	NO.365	KARAMON AT NIKKO	Tamamura
257.	NO.527	SHIBA AT TOKYO	Tamamura
258.	NO.348	URAMI FALLS AT NIKKO	Tamamura
259.	492	ASAKUSA AT TOKYO	Tamamura
260.	NO.488	SHIBA AT TOKYO	Tamamura
261.	NO 499A	WISTERIA	Tamamura
262.	NO.489	WADAGURA AT TOKYO	Tamamura
263.	NO.411	UYENO TEA HOUSE.	Tamamura
264.	NO.496	HARBOR AT YOKOHAMA	Tamamura
265.	NO.418	GRAND HOTEL	Tamamura
266.	NO.339	YOKOHAMA.	Tamamura
267.	NO.439	THE 101 STONE STEPS AT YOKOHAMA.	Tamamura
268.	NO.259	BENTEN DORI, YOKOHAMA.	Tamamura
269.	338		Tamamura
270.	NO.531	KAMAKURA	Tamamura
271.	NO 536	DAIBUTSU AT KAMAKURA	Tamamura
272.			
273.			
274.			
275.	144		Beato
276.			
277.			
278.	74		
279.			
280.	167		
281.	29		
282.			
283.			

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery

295.		Stillfried
296.		Stillfried
297.	1324	Stillfried [?]
298.	1434	Stillfried
299.	714	

Edinburgh Central City Library

* In this dissertation, the plates of the of Edinburgh City Library collection are not included. Therefore, 'Cata No.' is following the order of original album.

1.		VIEWS & COSTUMES
2.	363	
3.	358	
4.	313	
5.	111	SHIBA
6.	111	GOTEN
7.	304	
8.	394	
9.	361	
10.	342	
11.	349	
12.	390	
13.	348	
14.	398	
15.		
16.	351	
17.		FUKIAGR
18.	393	
19.	380	
20.	373	
21.	106	HAKONE
22.	321	
23.	367	
24.	366	
25.	290	
26.	196	ODJI
27.	92	DAIBUTZ
28.	397	
29.	399	
30.	381	
31.	181	TOKIO
32.		
33.	7	PAPENBERG
34.	51	KITANO
35.	103	KIGA
36.	95	TOMIOKA
37.	194/9	UYENO
38.	169	ATAO-YAMA
39.	81	KANASAWA
40.	90	HASSE
41.	123	YOSHIDA
42.	170or110	TOKIO
43.	378	
44.		
45.		

46. 102or402

HATA

47. 500

48. 497

49. 496

50. 476

51. 443

52. 423

53. 471

54. 440

AT NIKKO

55. 453

56. 489

57. 498

58. 499

59. 430

60. 429

61.

62.

63. 39

KIYOMIDZU

In. Kioto

64. 449

65. 450

66. 408

67. 415

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ILLUSTRATIONS II : PLATES

EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF JAPAN
IN
SCOTTISH COLLECTIONS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY
IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN MUSEUM AND GALLERY STUDIES

BY
HANAKO MURATA

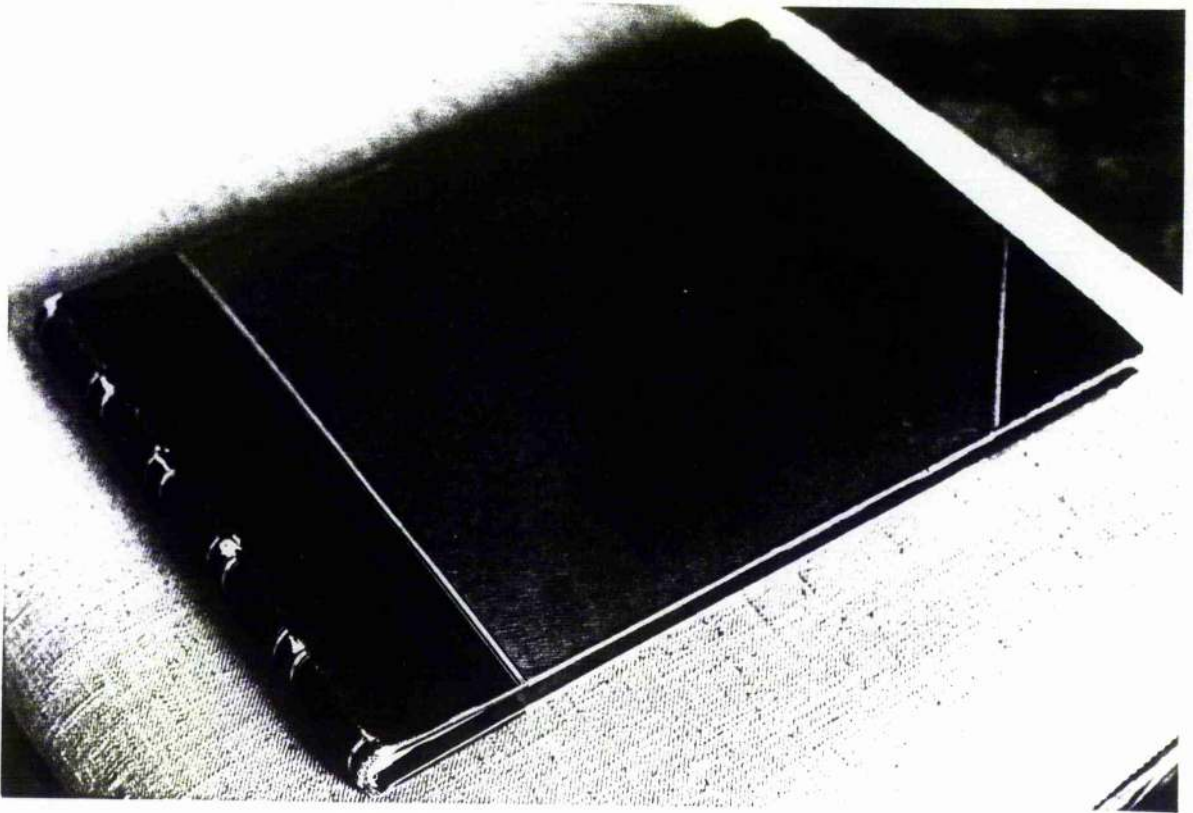
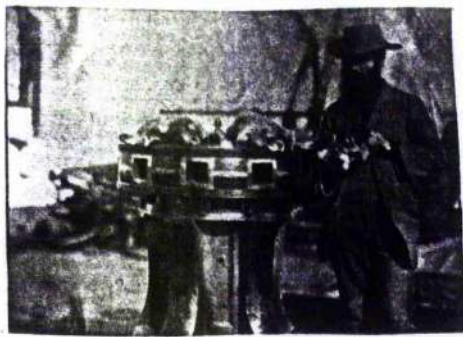


Plate. 1. The cover of Colonel Playfair's album.

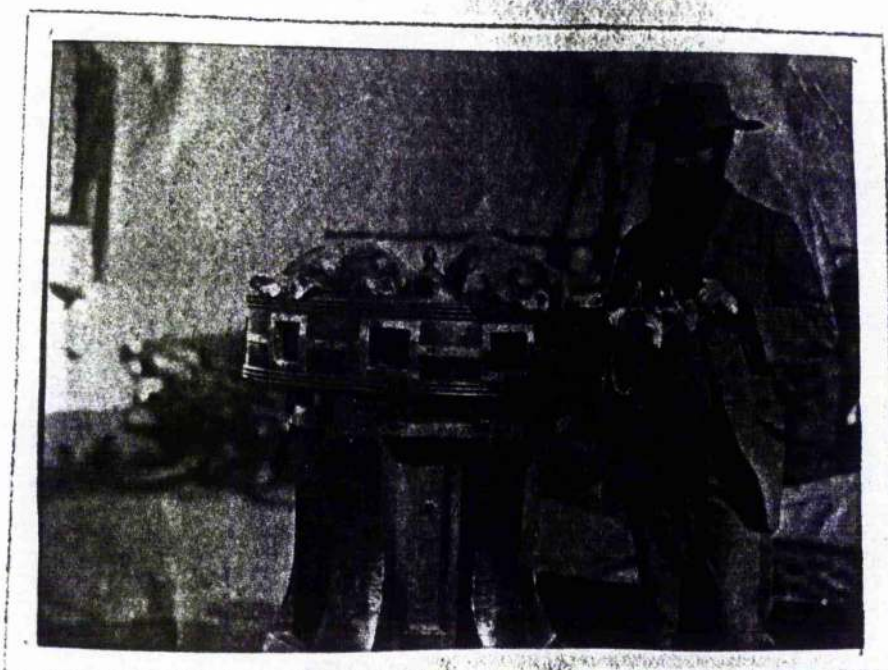


- Japanese Dogs -



Groups in Japan.

Plate. 2, 3 & 4a. Layout of Plate. 2, 3 and 4 on original page.



— *Japanese Dogs* —

Plate. 2. William Nassau Jocelyn, *Japanese Dogs* [Man with Three Dogs beside Capstan], albumen print, 1858. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT, Dunfermline, Fife.



— *Japanese Dogs*

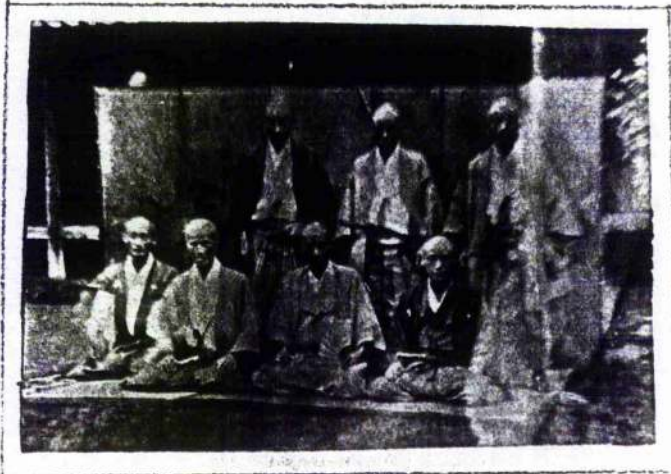


Groups in Japan

Plate. 3. William Nassau Jocelyn, *Groups in Japan* [Group in Japan (1)], albumen print, 1858. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT, Dunfermline, Fife.



— *Japanese Dogs* —



Groups in Japan.

Plate. 4. William Nassau Jocelyn, *Groups in Japan* [*Group in Japan* (2)], albumen print, 1858. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, KT, Dunfermline, Fife.

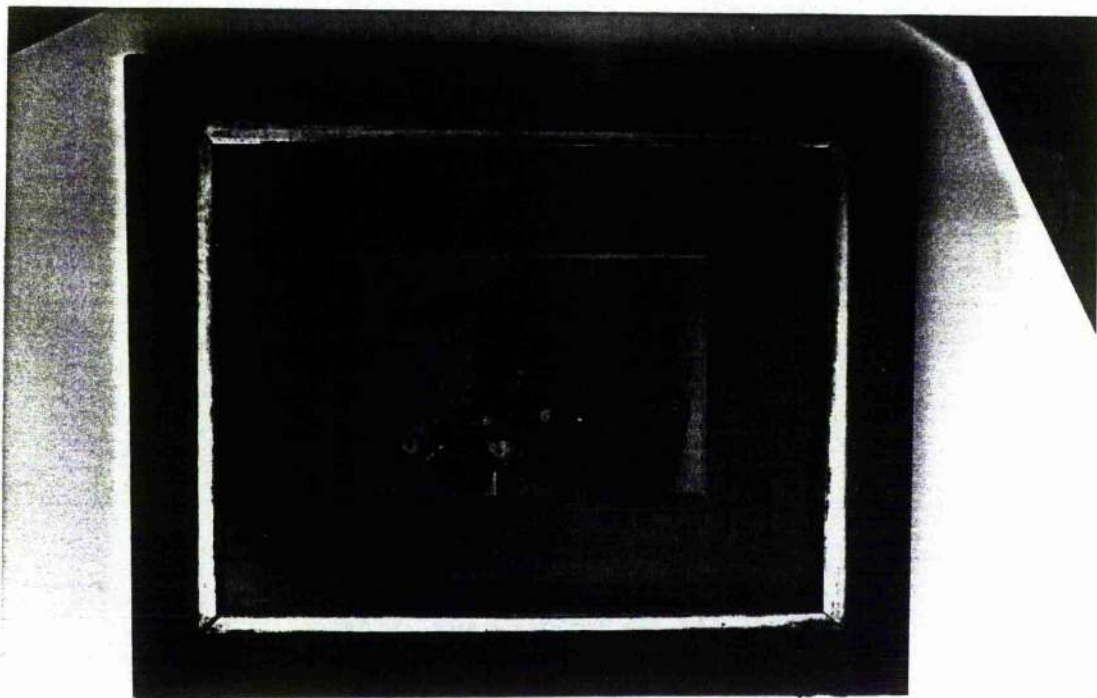


Plate. 5 Anonymous photographer, Group of Five Japanese Students, London [The Choshu Five in London], albumen print, framed, 1863. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/1.



Plate. 5a. Detail of Plate 5.

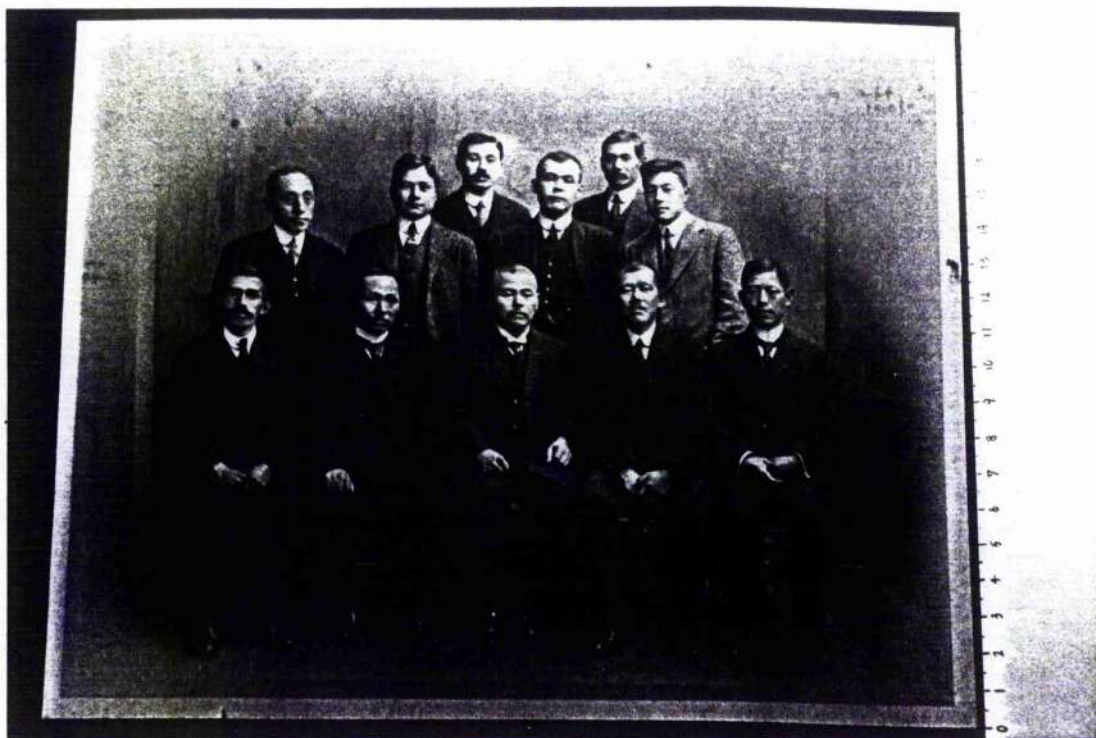


Plate. 6. Anonymous photographer, *Group of Several Japanese Businessmen [Portrait of Japanese Group]*, albumen print, 1912.
University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/7.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|
| | | 10 | 11 | |
| | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
1. M. Hara
 2. J. Katsuki
 3. G. Tarao
 4. Y. Hayakawa
 5. M. Hara
 6. S. Kobayashi NKY
 7. R. Yamaki
Later President of Tokyo Marine Institut.
Son in law of Barn Iwashita
 8. N. Matsumura
Later President of Yonei Shoten
 9. T. Shoda (Taizo Shoda)
Student of Glasgow University
Later President of Kobe Shipping
 10. K. Tomita
 11. H. Kuge

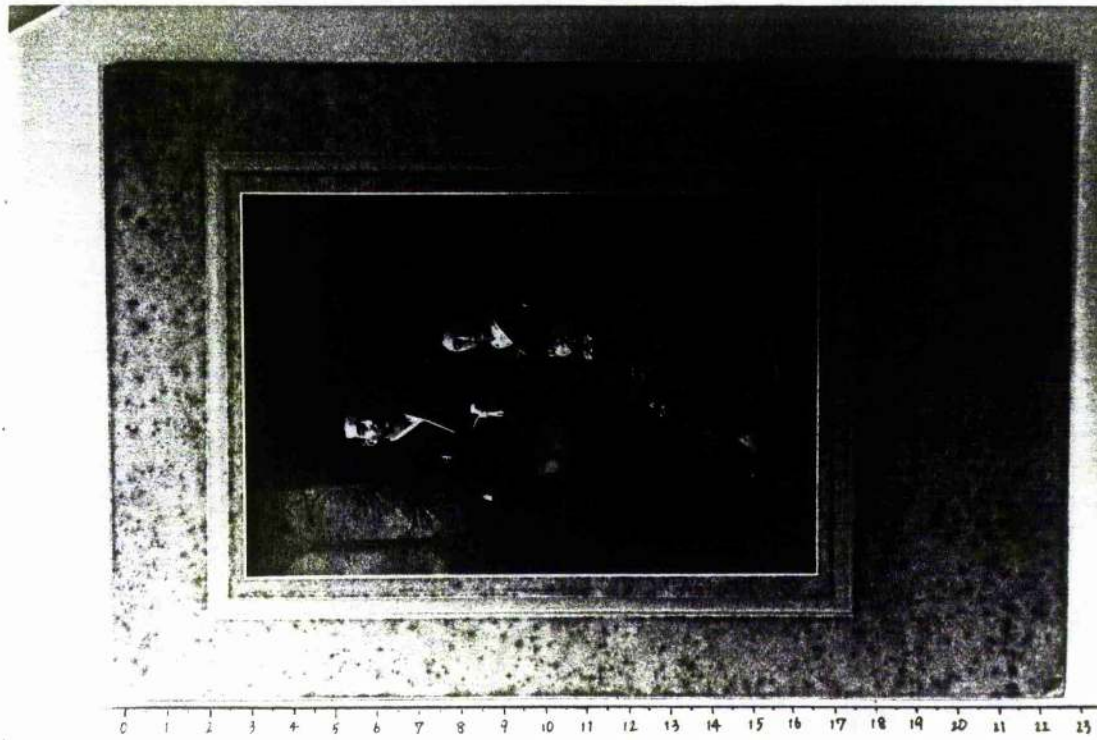


Plate. 7. Riyo Maruki, Japanese Couple Named Shigeya and Nobu Kondo, albumen print, 1912. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/8.



Plate. 7a. Back of the paper frame of Plate 7.

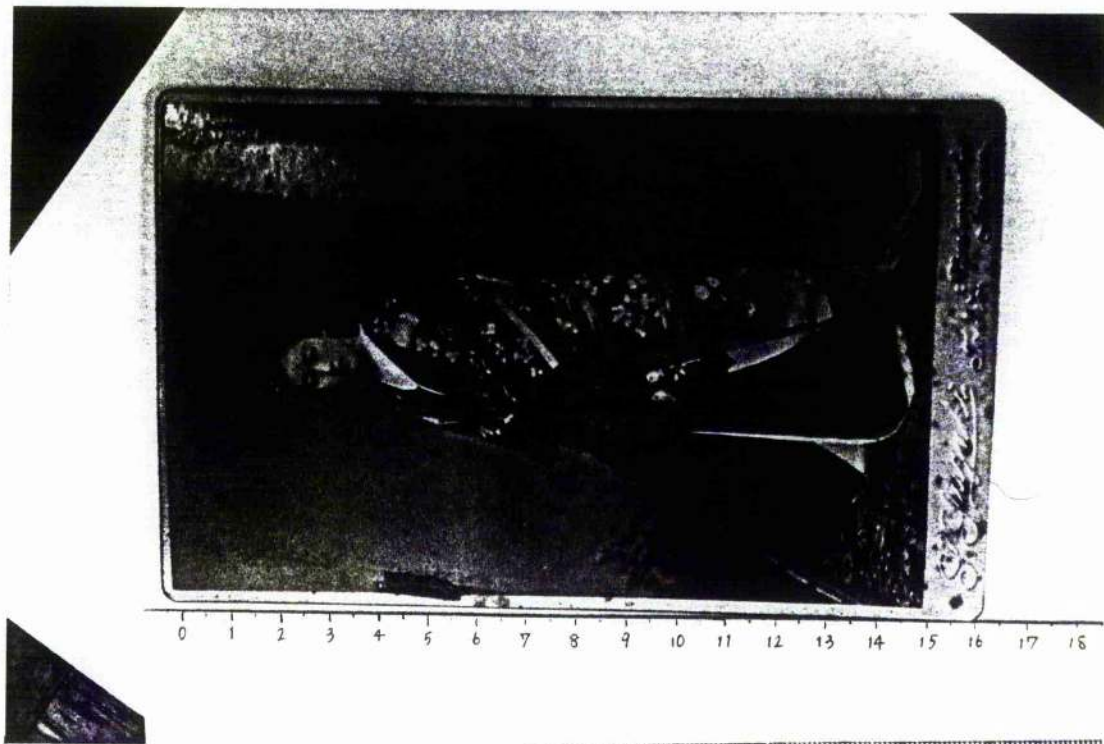


Plate. 8. Shinichi Suzuki, Lady in Traditional Japanese Dress [Studio Portrait of Shidzuko Iwasaki], cabinet card, 1884-92. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/29.

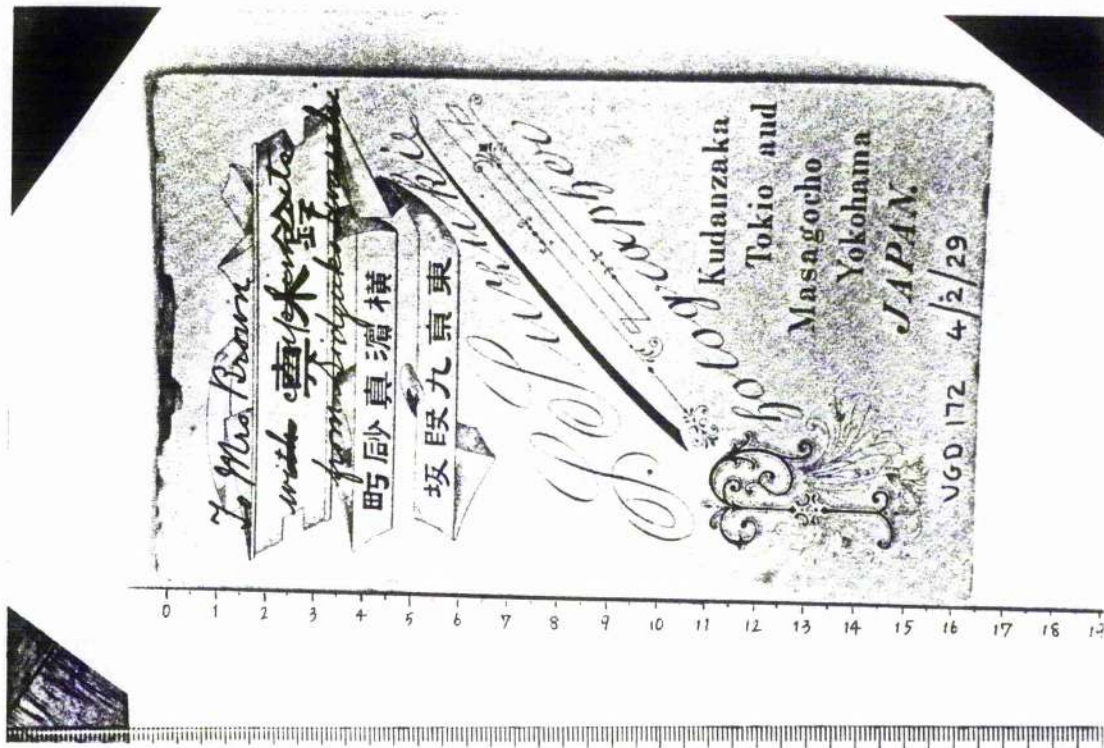


Plate. 8a. Back of the paper frame of Plate 8.

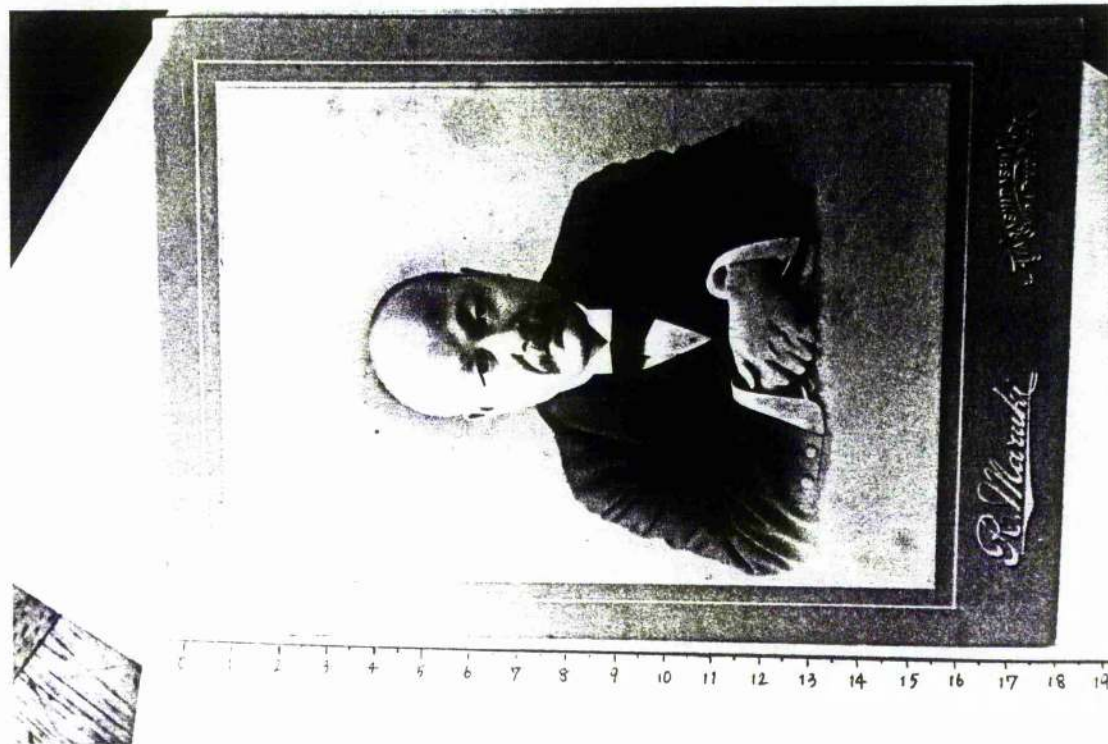


Plate. 9. Riyo Maruki, Unnamed Japanese Businessman, cabinet card, 1903. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/4.

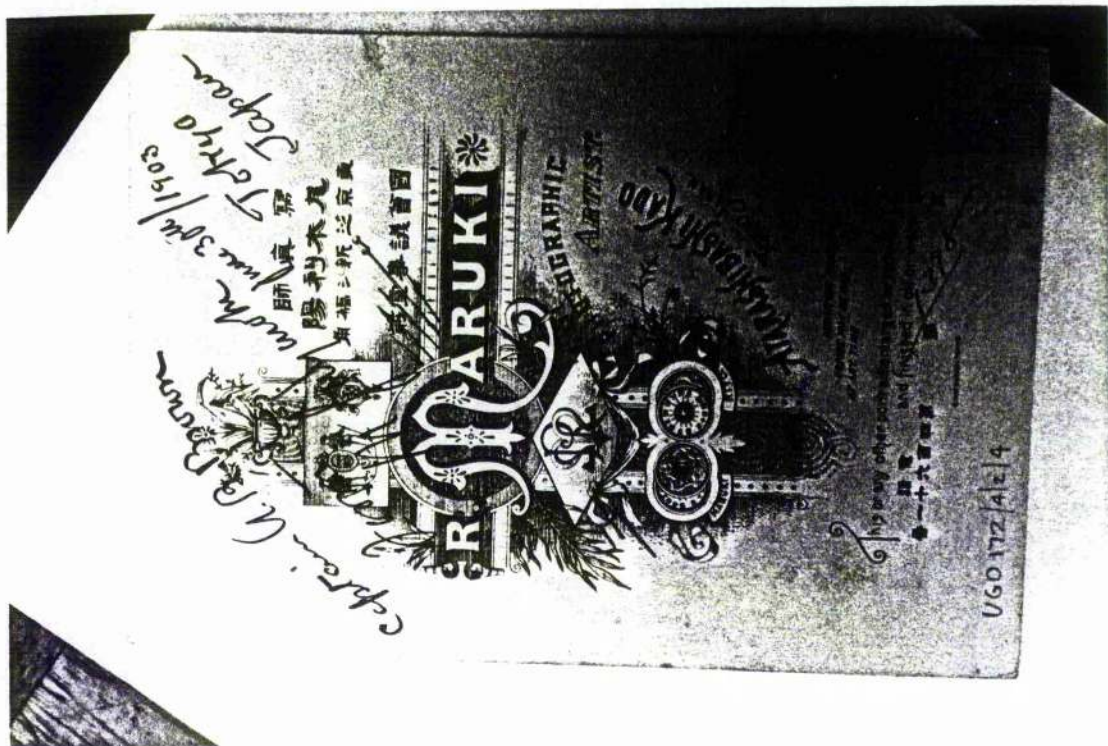


Plate. 9a. Back of the paper frame of Plate 9.



Plate. 10. Anonymous photographer, Edward A. Brown and Thomas B. Glover (probably in Tokyo), gelatin silver print, framed, c1910/11. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/5.

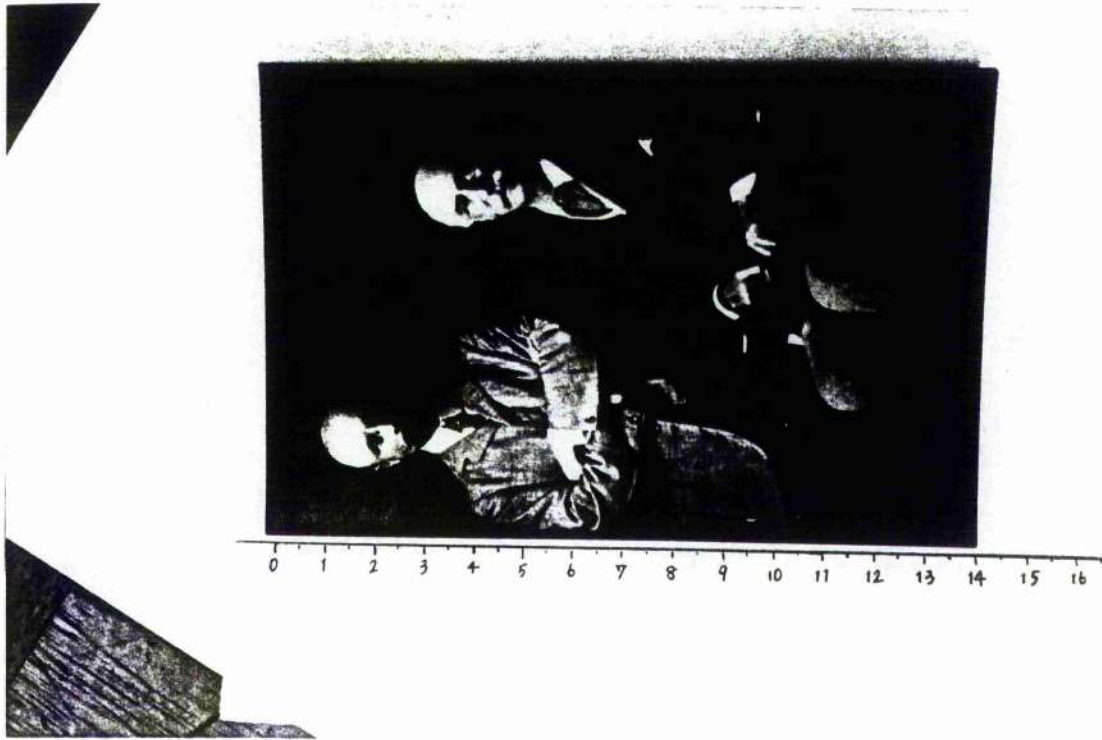


Plate. 11. Anonymous photographer, Edward A. Brown and Thomas B. Glover (probably in Tokyo), gelatin silver print, c1910/11. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/6.

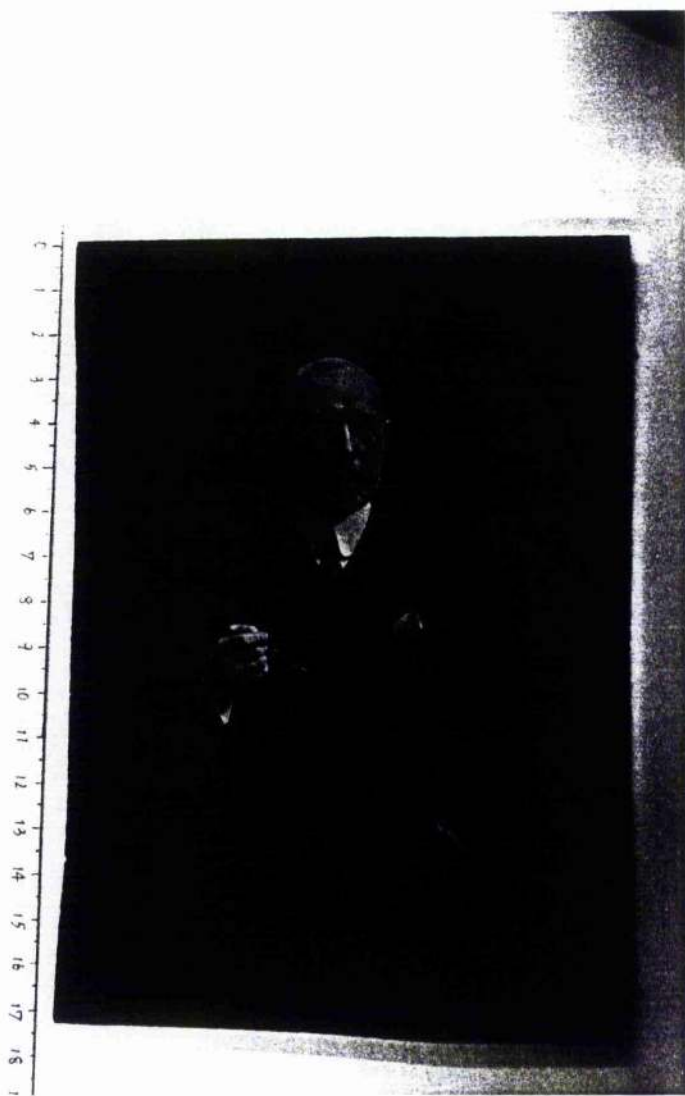


Plate. 12. Anonymous photographer, *George McFarlane*, gelatin silver print, 1900s-40s. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/30.



Plate. 13. Lafayette Ltd, *Group of Five Businessmen*, gelatin silver print, c1936. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/9 and 2/10.



Plate. 14. Anonymous photographer, *Mr. Ronald Macdonald, Director of A. R. Brown, McFarlane & Co. Ltd.*, gelatin silver print, c1930s. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/20.

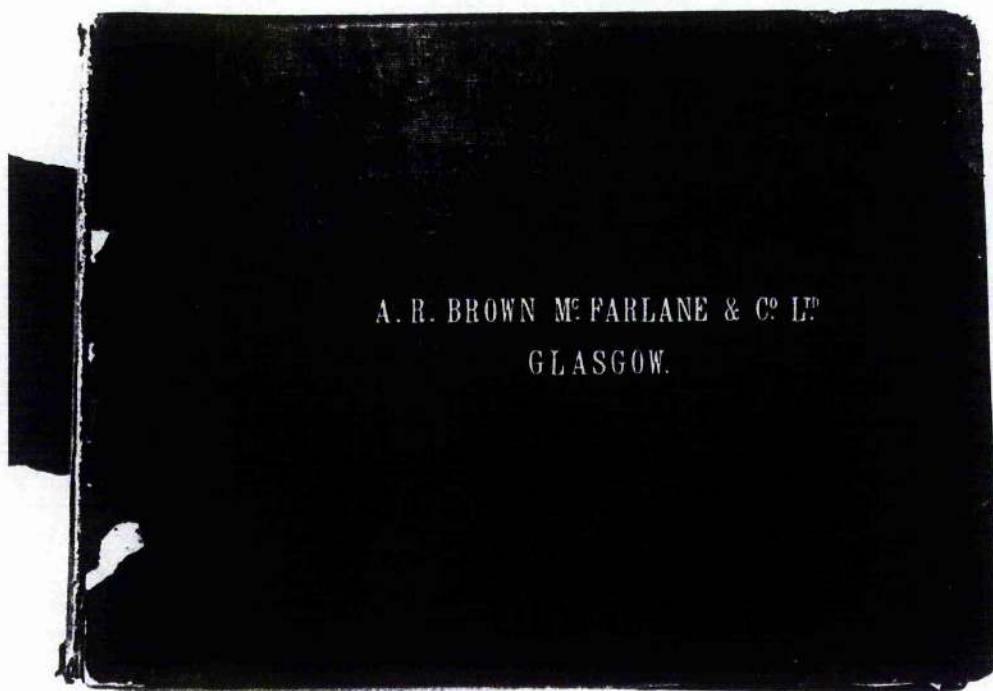


Plate. 15. The front cover of photograph album, A.R.BROWN MC FARLANE & CO. LTD./ GLASGOW. GUD 172. 4. 1/1.

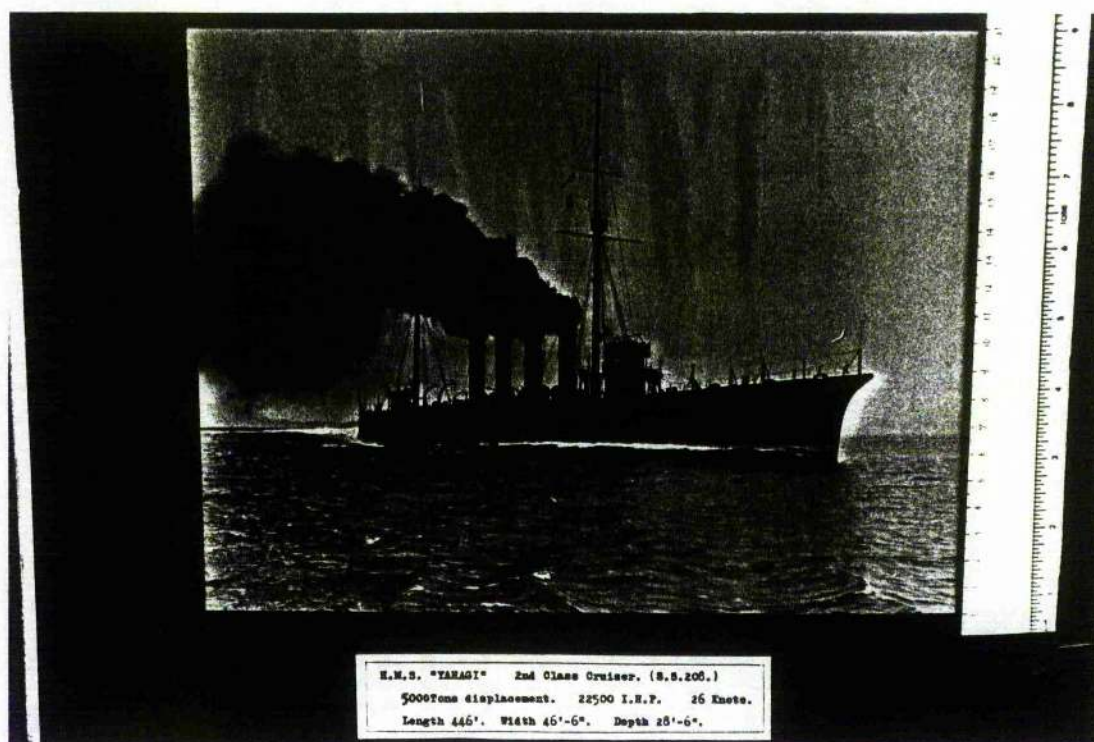


Plate. 16. Anonymous photographer, H.M.S.[H.I.J.M.S.] "YAHAGI" 2nd Class Cruiser, gelatin silver print, 1911. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

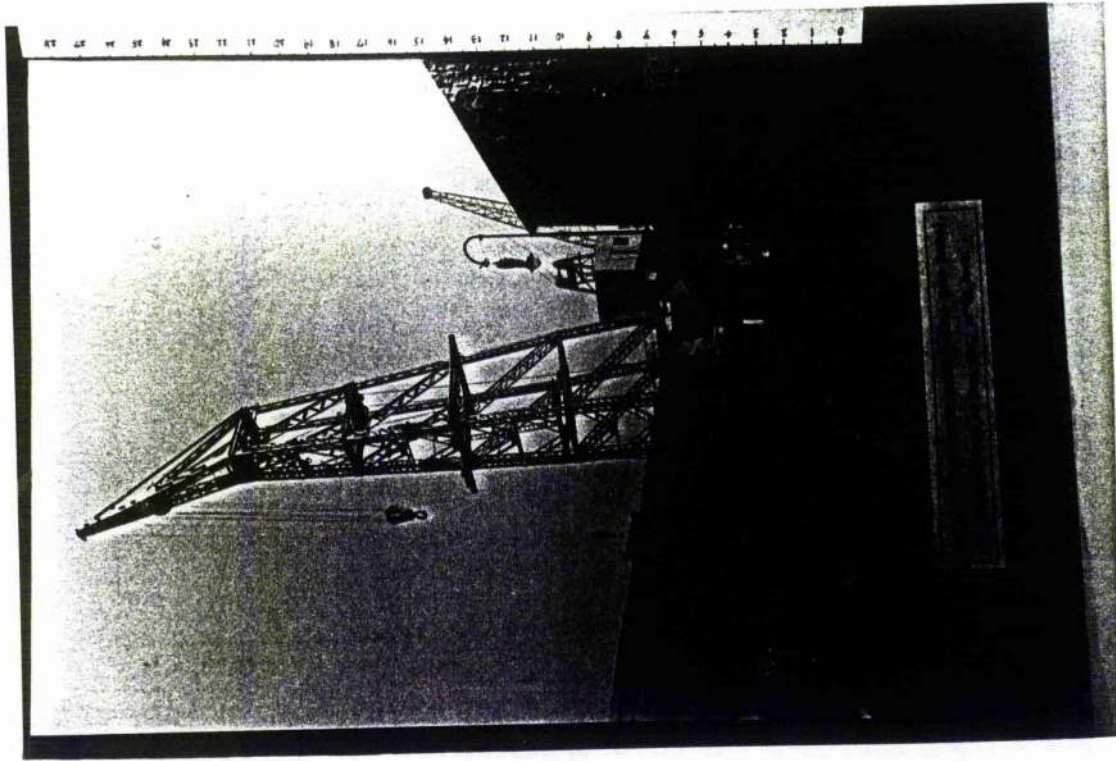


Plate. 17. Anonymous photographer, 60 Ton
Steam Floating Crane, gelatin silver print, c1913.
University of Glasgow Business Records Centre.
UGD 172.4.1/1.

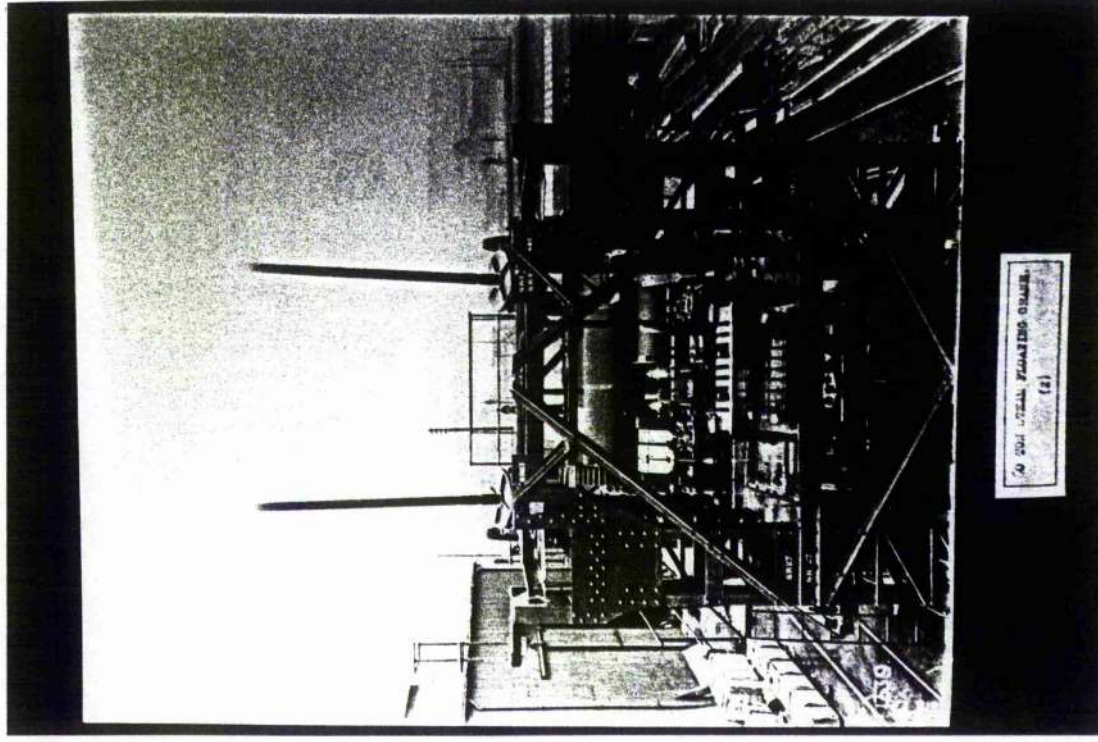


Plate. 18. Anonymous photographer, 60 Ton
Steam Floating Crane (2), gelatin silver print, c1913.
University of Glasgow Business Records Centre.
UGD 172.4.1/1.

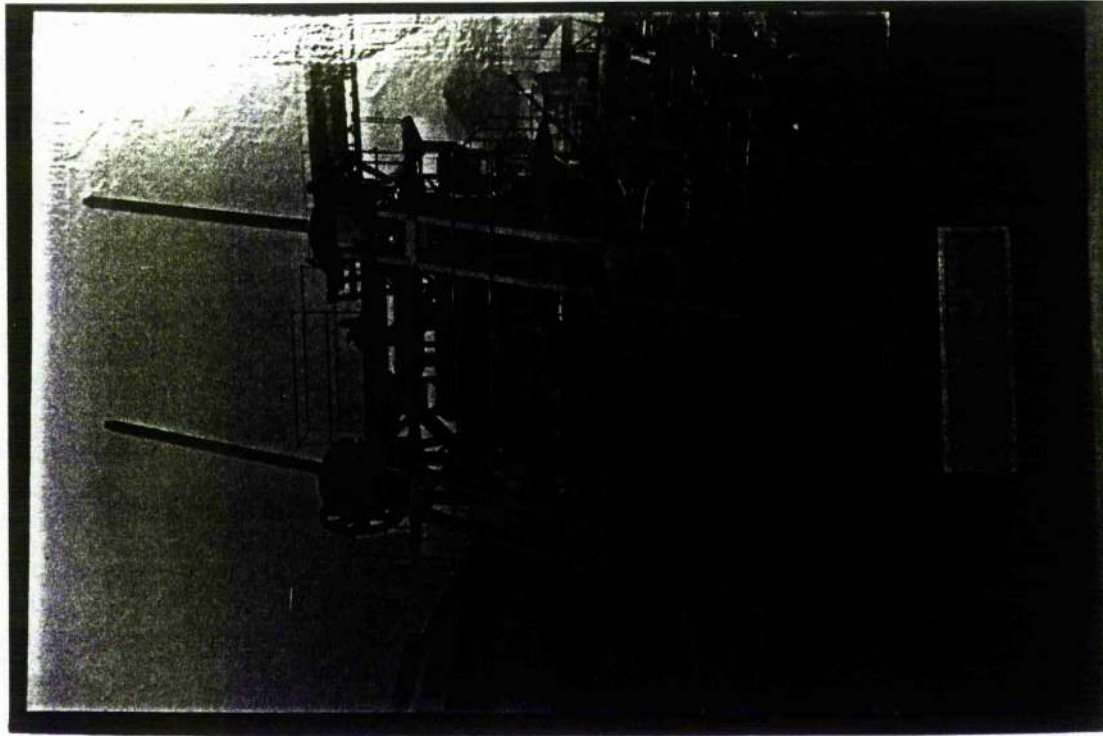


Plate. 19. Anonymous photographer, 60 Ton
Steam Floating Crane (3), gelatin silver print, c1913.
University of Glasgow Business Records Centre.
UGD 172.4.1/1.

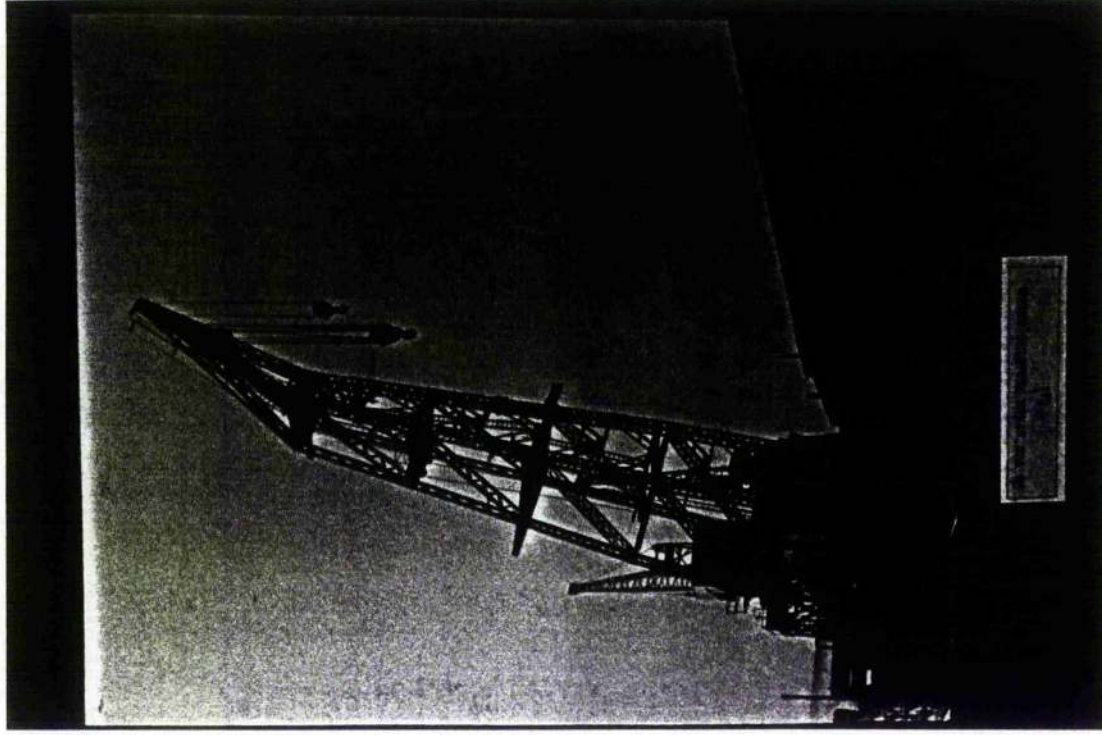


Plate. 20. Anonymous photographer, 60 Ton
Steam Floating Crane (4), gelatin silver print, c1913.
University of Glasgow Business Records Centre.
UGD 172.4.1/1.

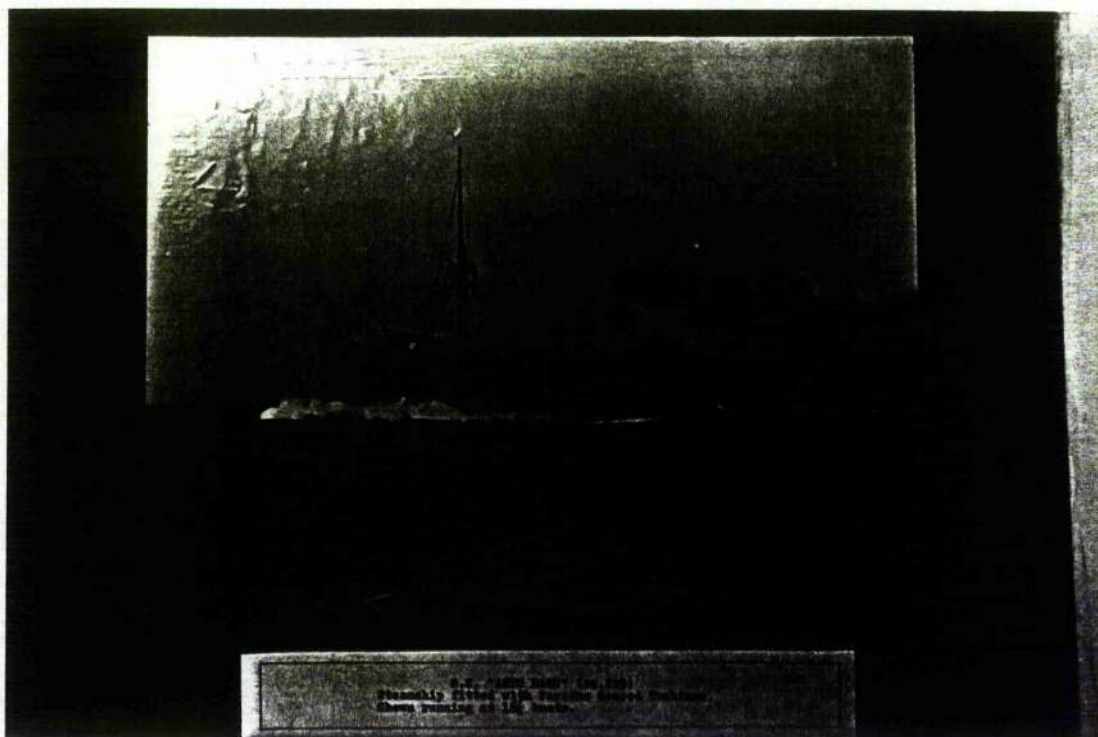


Plate. 21. Anonymous photographer, S.S. "Anyo Maru" (SS 229)
Steamship Fitted with Parsons' Geared Turbines, gelatin silver print,
 c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

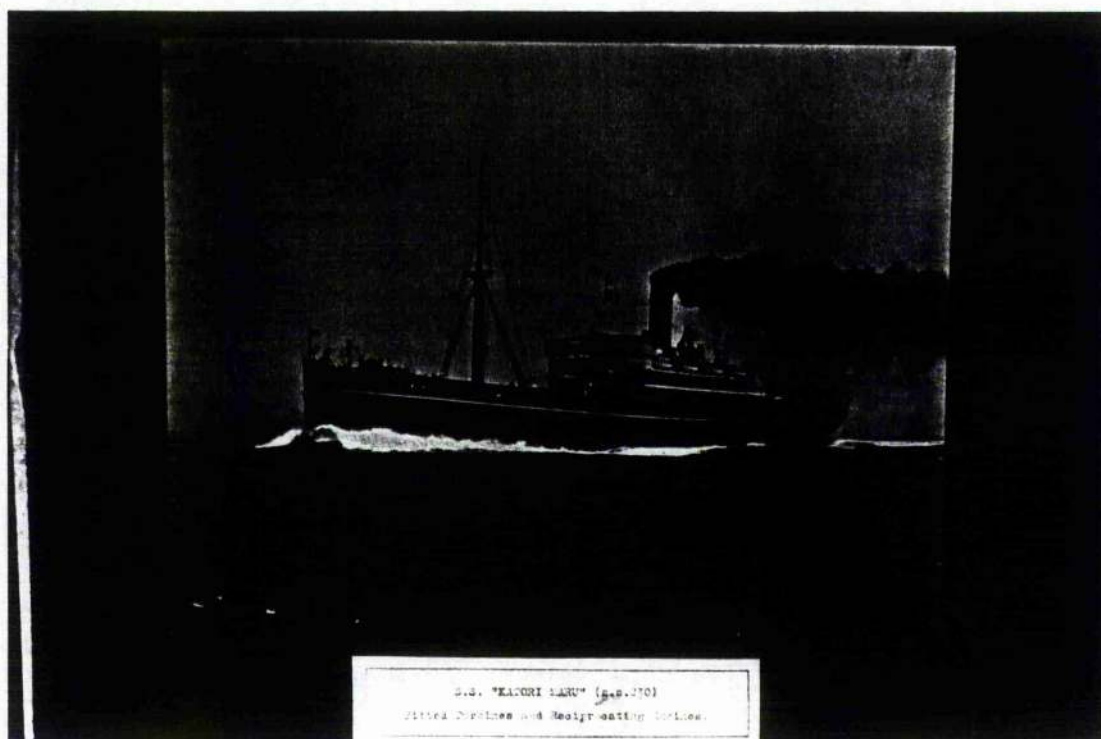


Plate. 22. Anonymous photographer, S.S. "Katori Maru" (S.S. 230)
Fitted with Turbines & Reciprocating Engine, gelatin silver print, c1910.
 University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

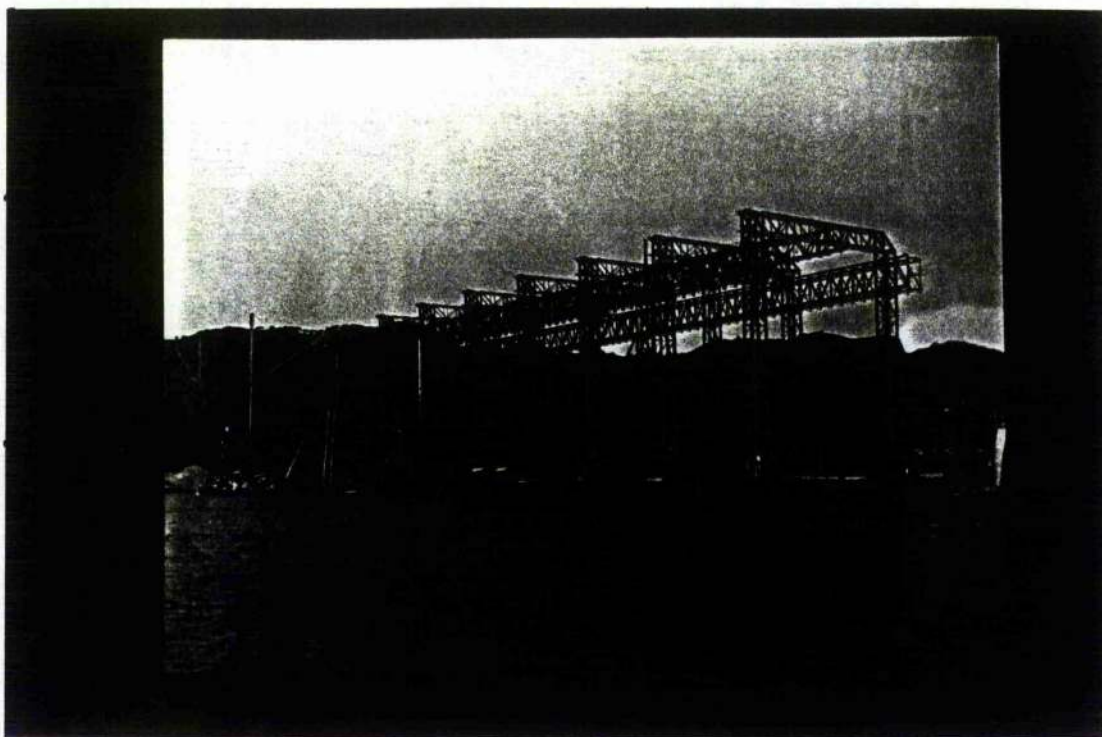


Plate. 23. Anonymous photographer, [*Shipyard Gantry in Japan*], gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

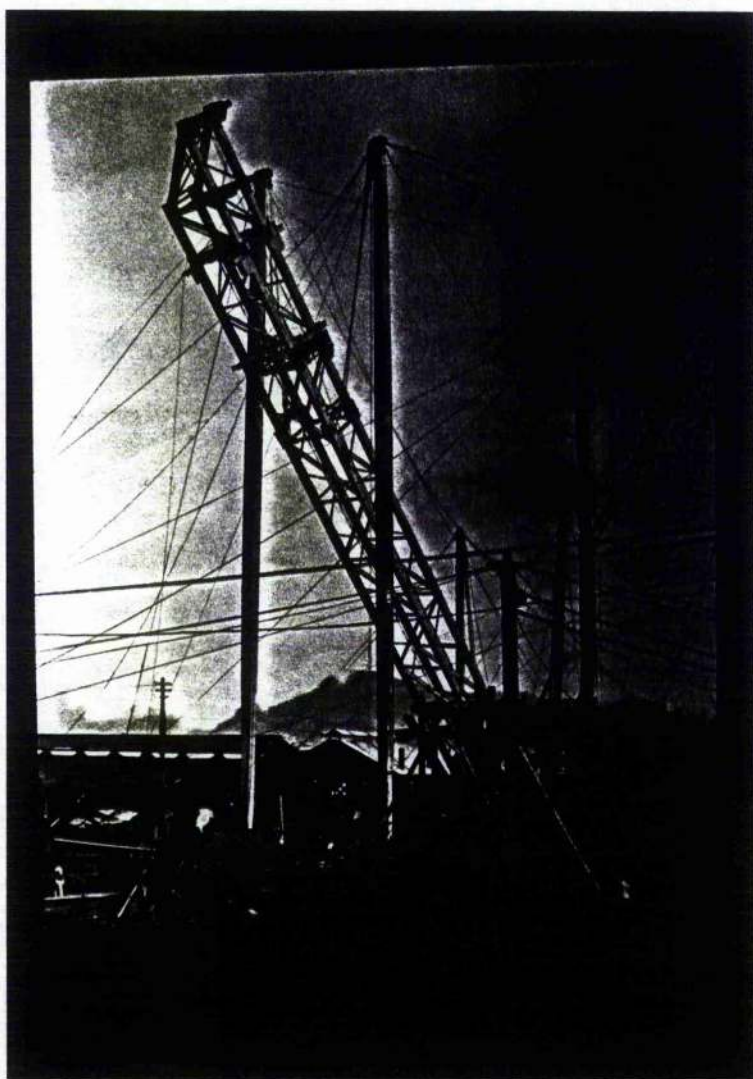


Plate. 24. Anonymous photographer, (*Crane ?*), gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

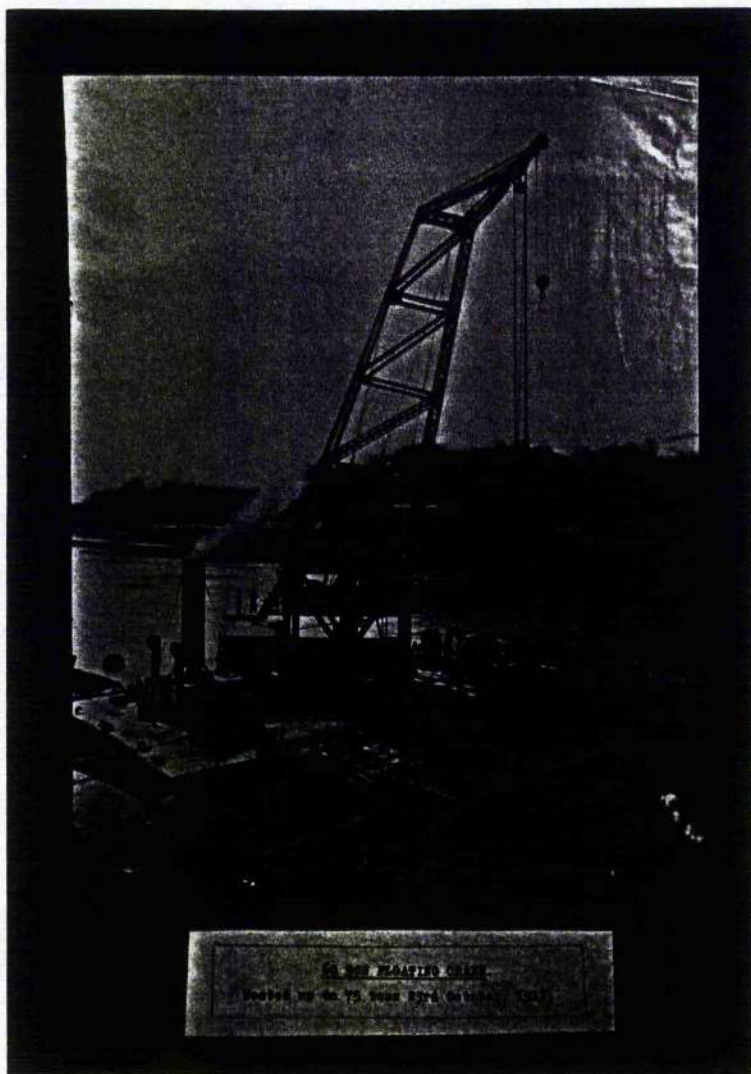


Plate. 25. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Floating Crane, Tested up to 75 Tons*, gelatin silver print, 23 October 1913. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

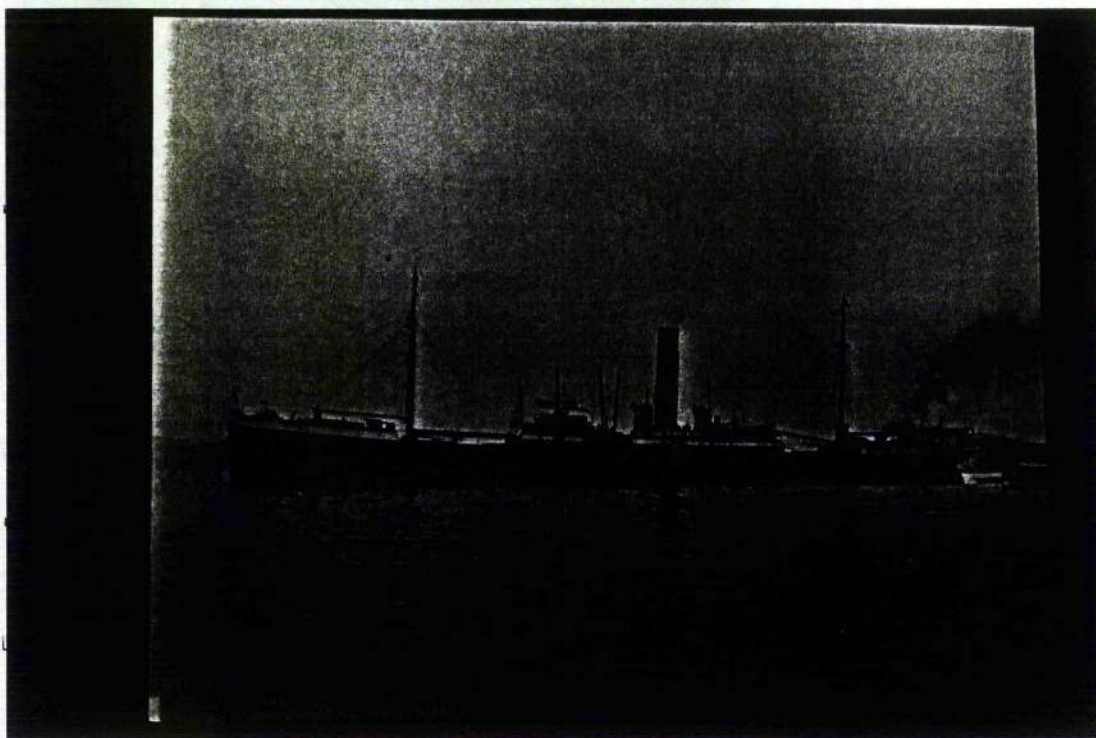


Plate. 26. Anonymous photographer, *[Steamship]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

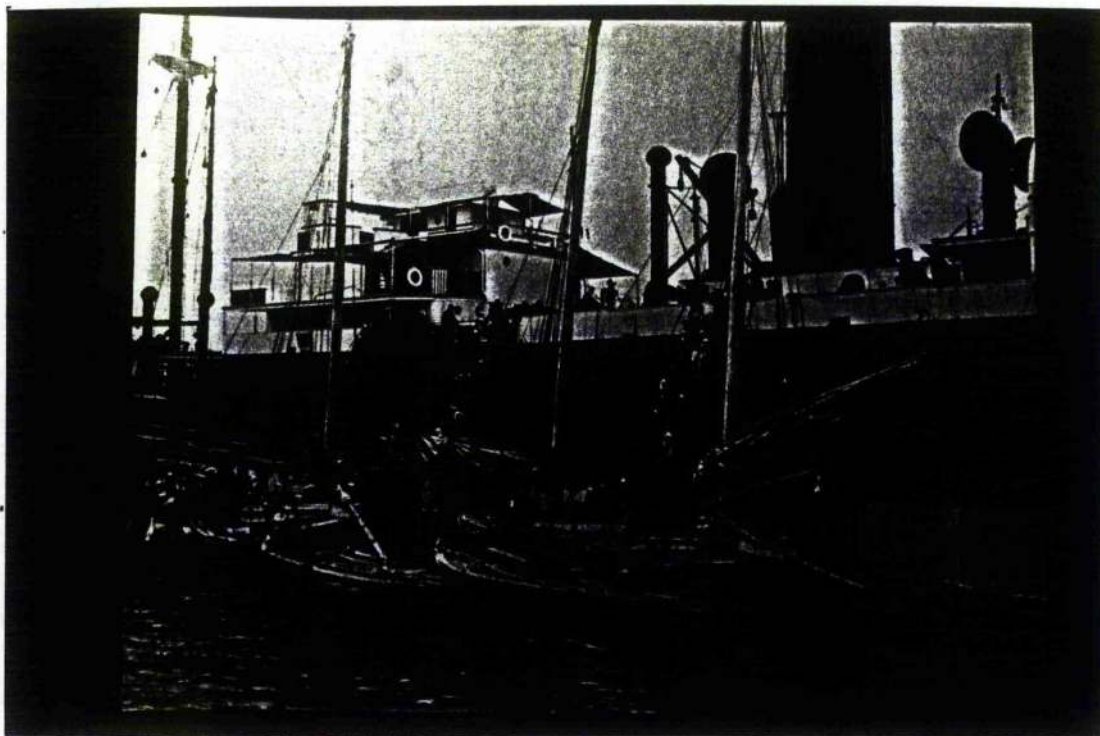


Plate. 27. Anonymous photographer, *[Details of Steamship with People Unloading Goods into Chinese Junks]*, gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

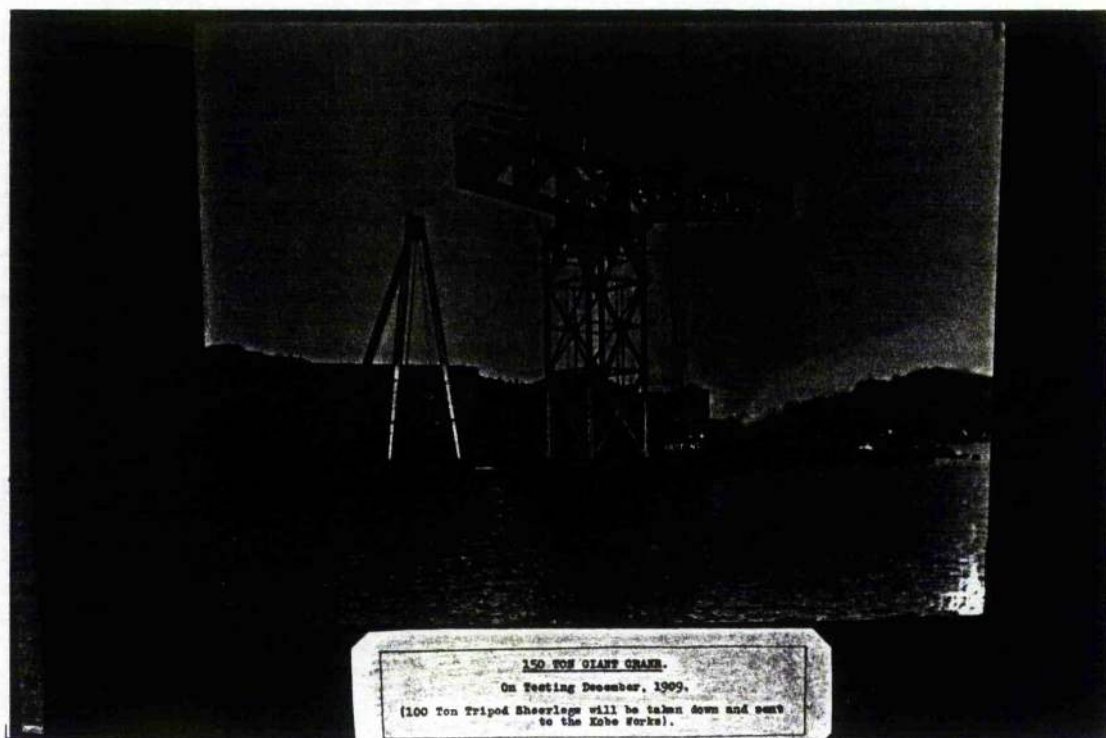


Plate. 28. Anonymous photographer, *150 Ton Giant Crane*, gelatin silver print, December 1909. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

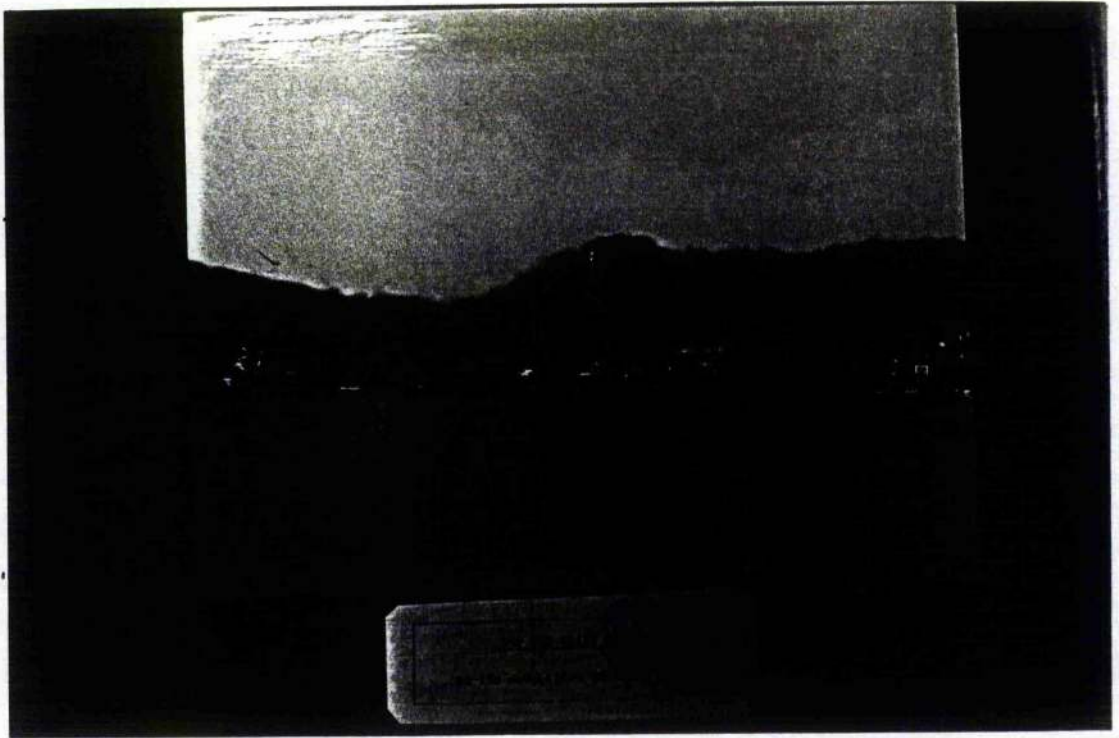


Plate. 29. Anonymous photographer, *150 Ton Giant Crane*, gelatin silver print, December 1909. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

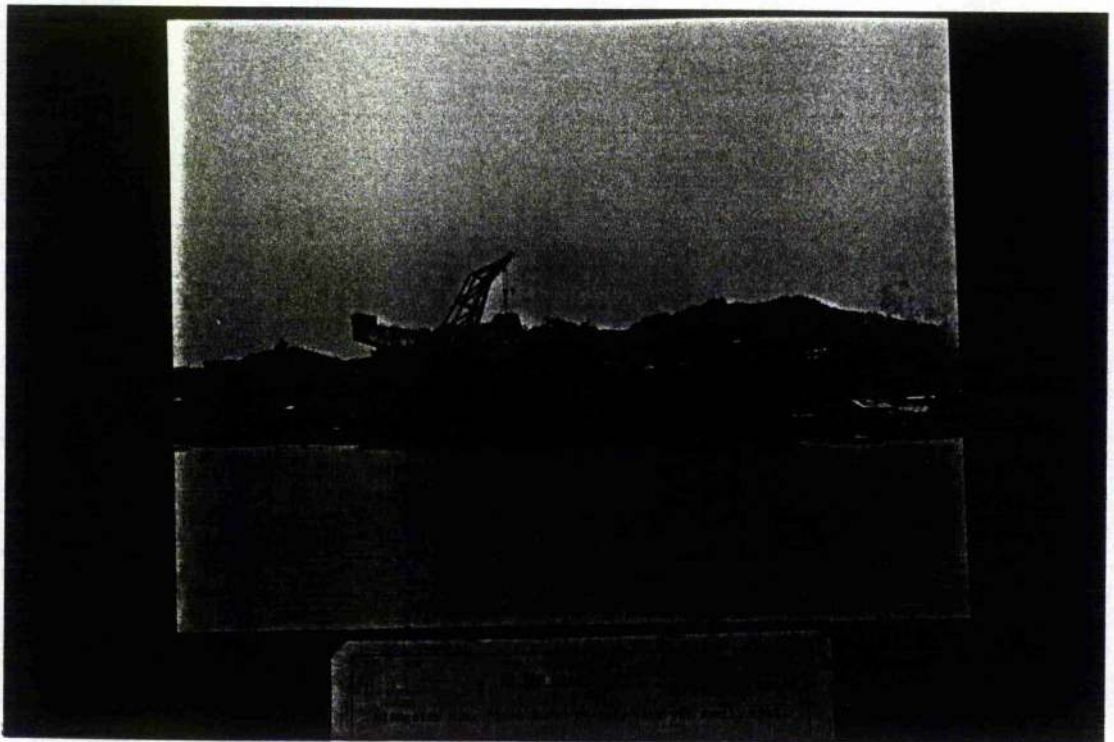


Plate. 30. Anonymous photographer, *60 Ton Crane - Alongside S.S. "Suwa Maru" at Quay Wall* 9th April, 1914, gelatin silver print, 1914. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

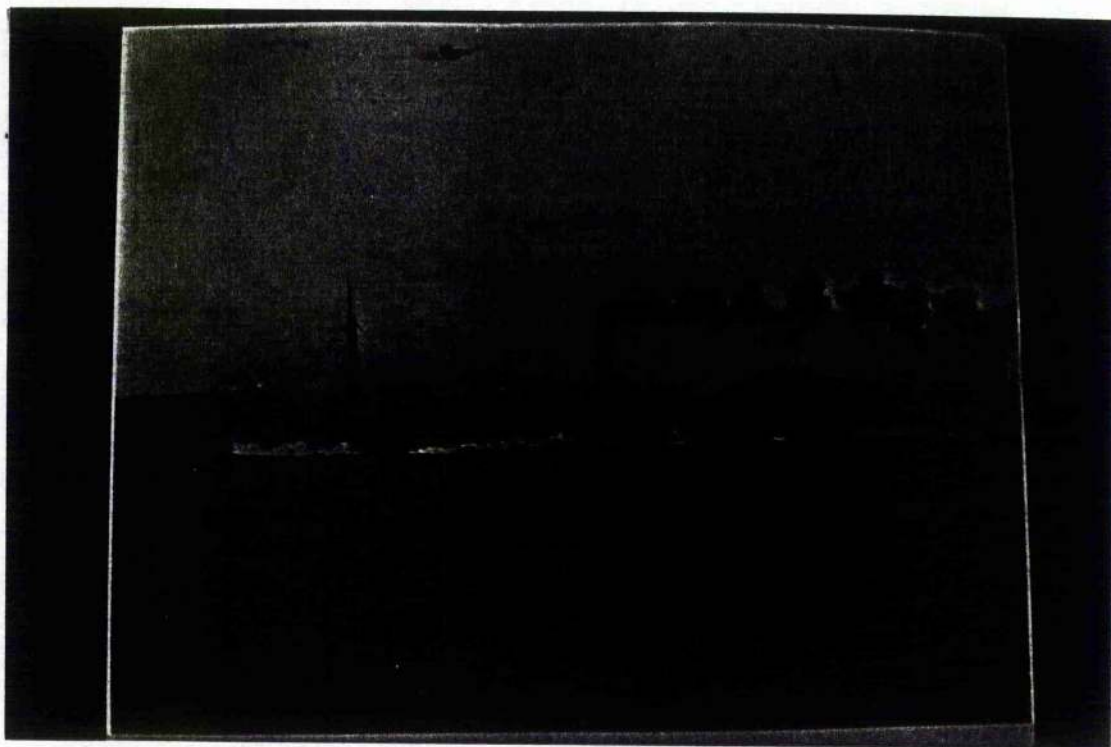


Plate. 31. Anonymous photographer, [*Steamship*], gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.



Plate. 32. Anonymous photographer, [*Steamship*], gelatin silver print, c1910. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

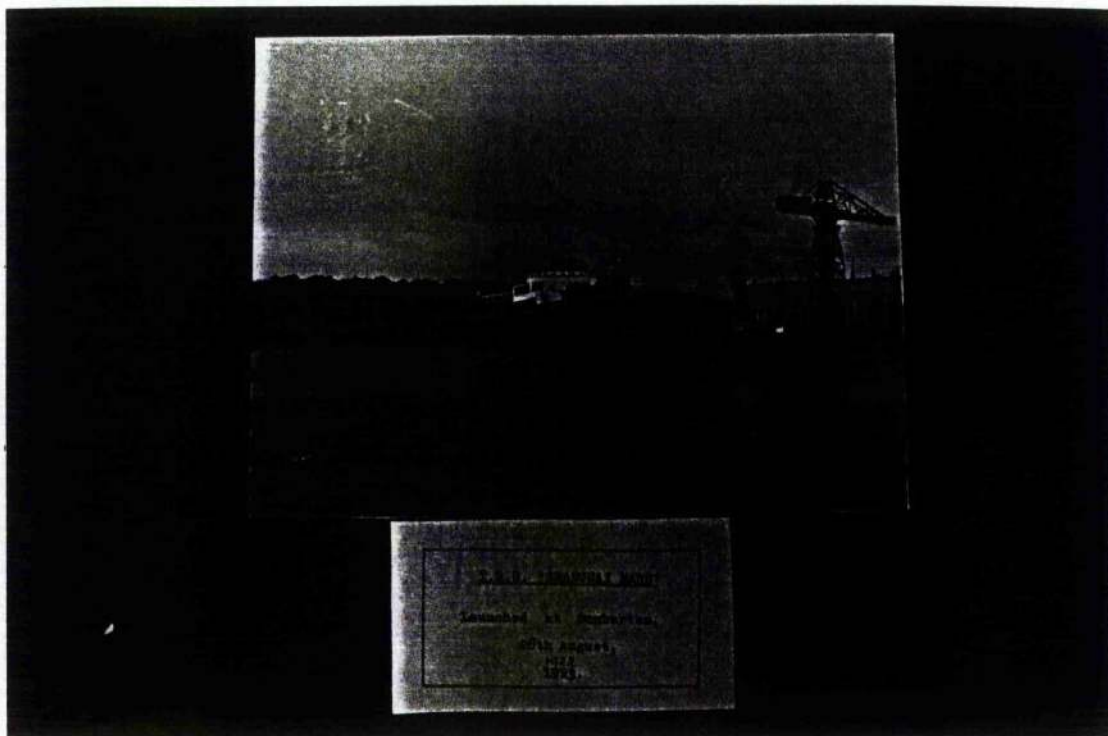


Plate. 33. Anonymous photographer, T.S.S. "Shanghai Maru" -
Launched at Dumbarton, 28th August, 1922, gelatin silver print, 1922.
 University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 1/1.

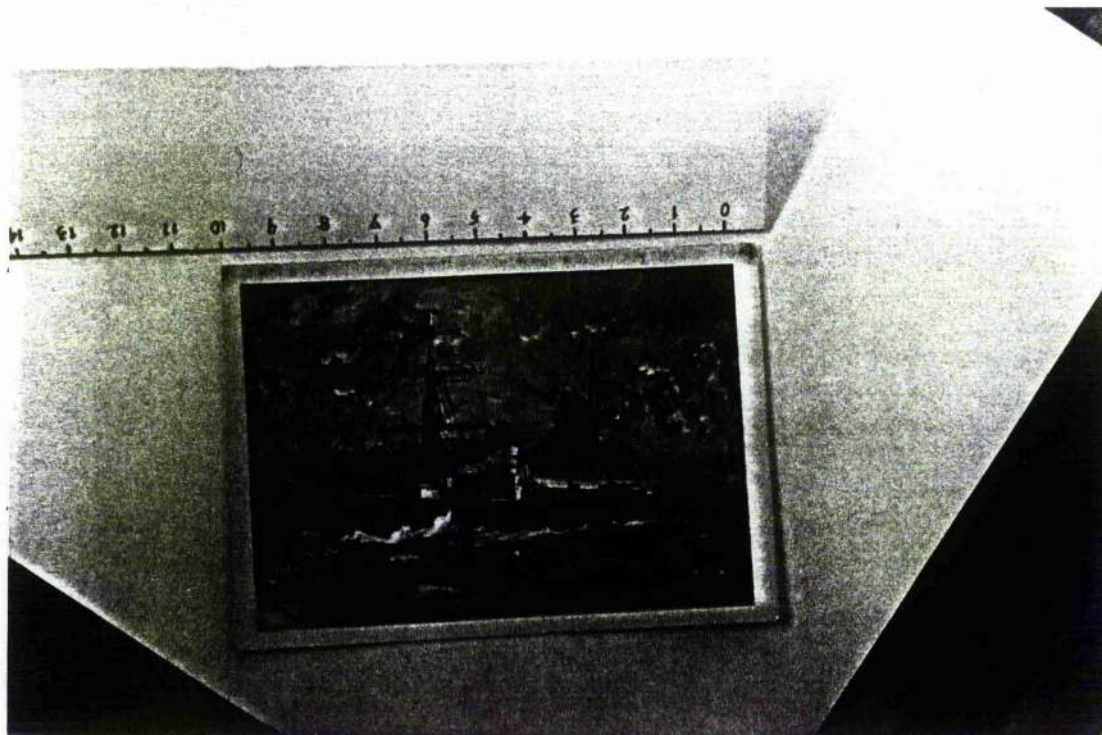


Plate. 34. Anonymous photographer, "Meiji Maru" When New
[Painting of "Meiji Maru" in 1874], unknown date. University of Glasgow
 Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/3.

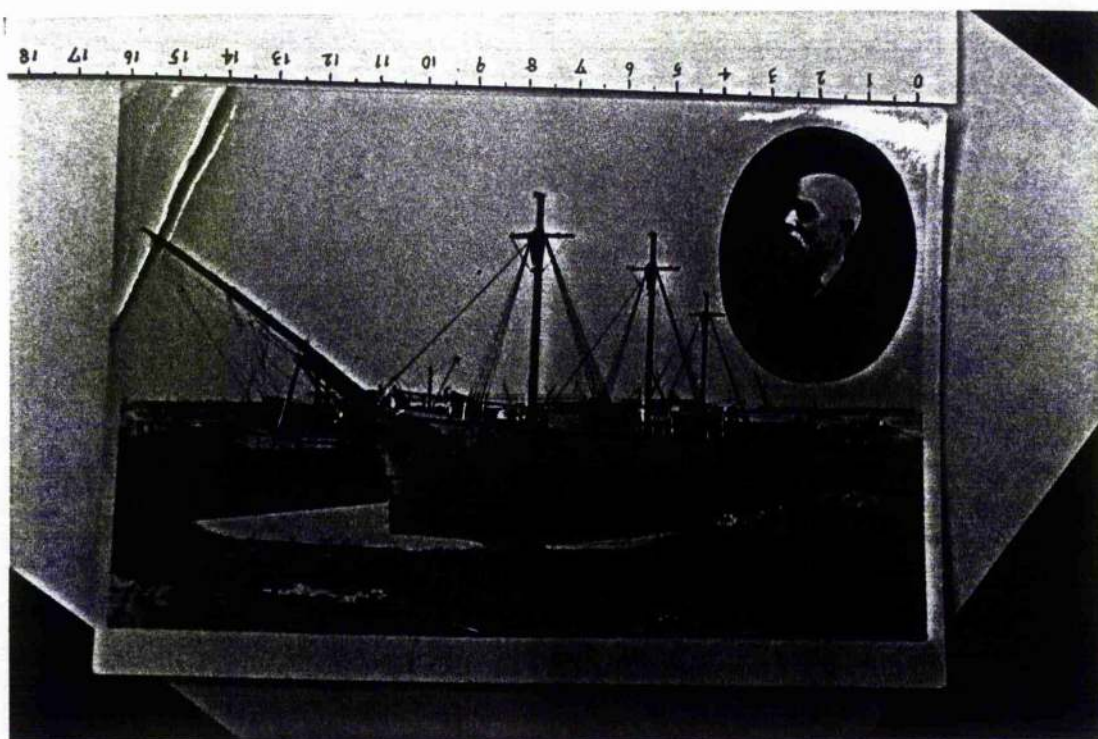


Plate. 35. Anonymous photographer, *The Vessel "Meiji Maru" ["Meiji Maru" in Japan with Inset Portrait of A. R. Brown]*, unknown date. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/28.

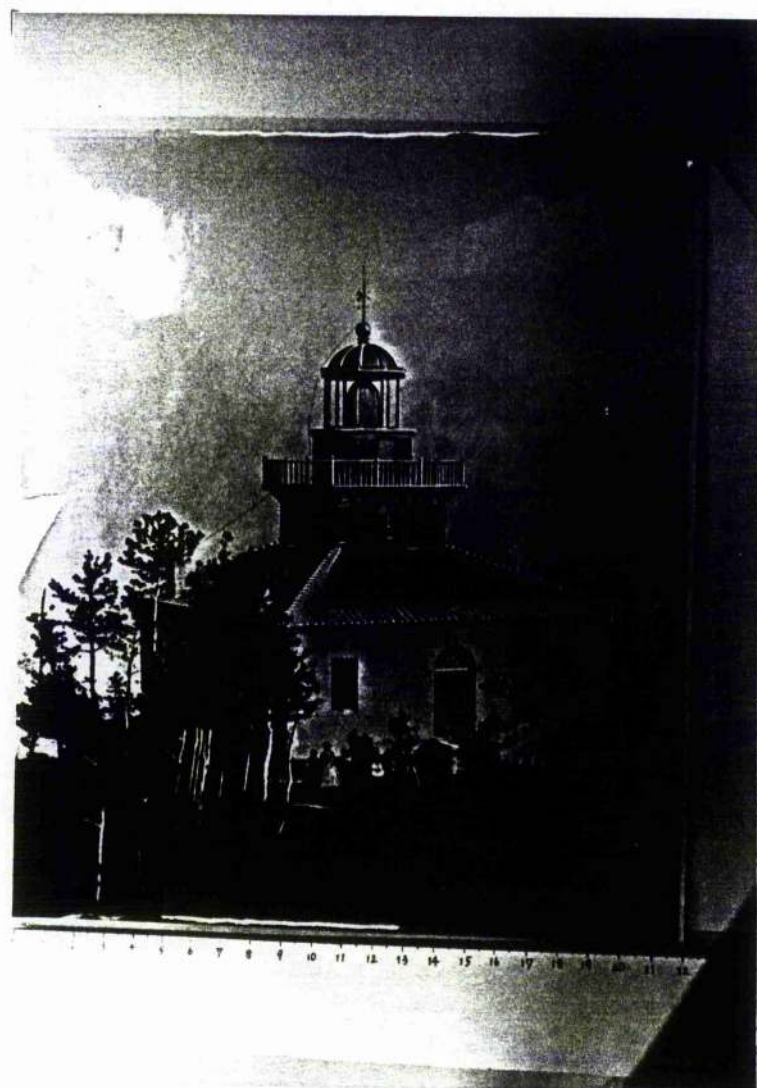


Plate. 36. Anonymous photographer, *Kanno-Sak Lighthouse; First Established in Japan*, albumen print, 1869. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD 172. 4. 2/2.

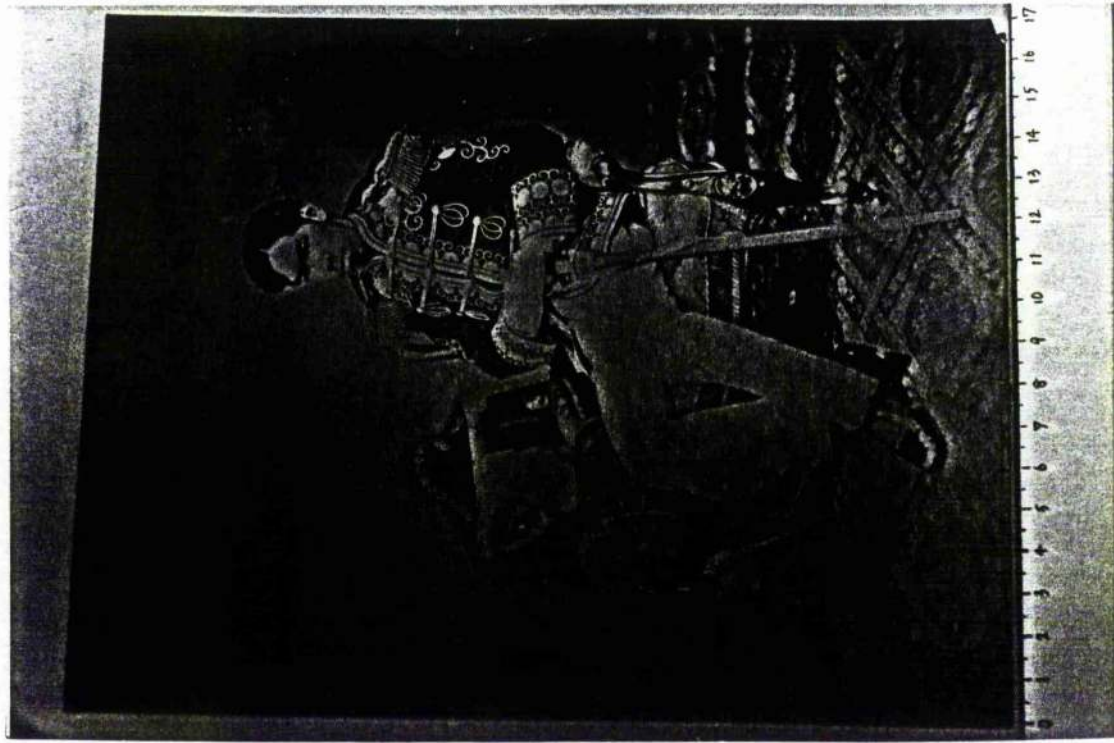


Plate 37. Uchida Kuichi, Japanese Officer in Dress Uniform [The Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito], albumen print, 1873. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD.172.4.2/31



Plate 38. Uchida Kuichi, Lady in Traditional Japanese Dress [The Meiji Empress, Haruko], albumen print, 1873. University of Glasgow Business Records Centre. UGD.172.4.2/32.

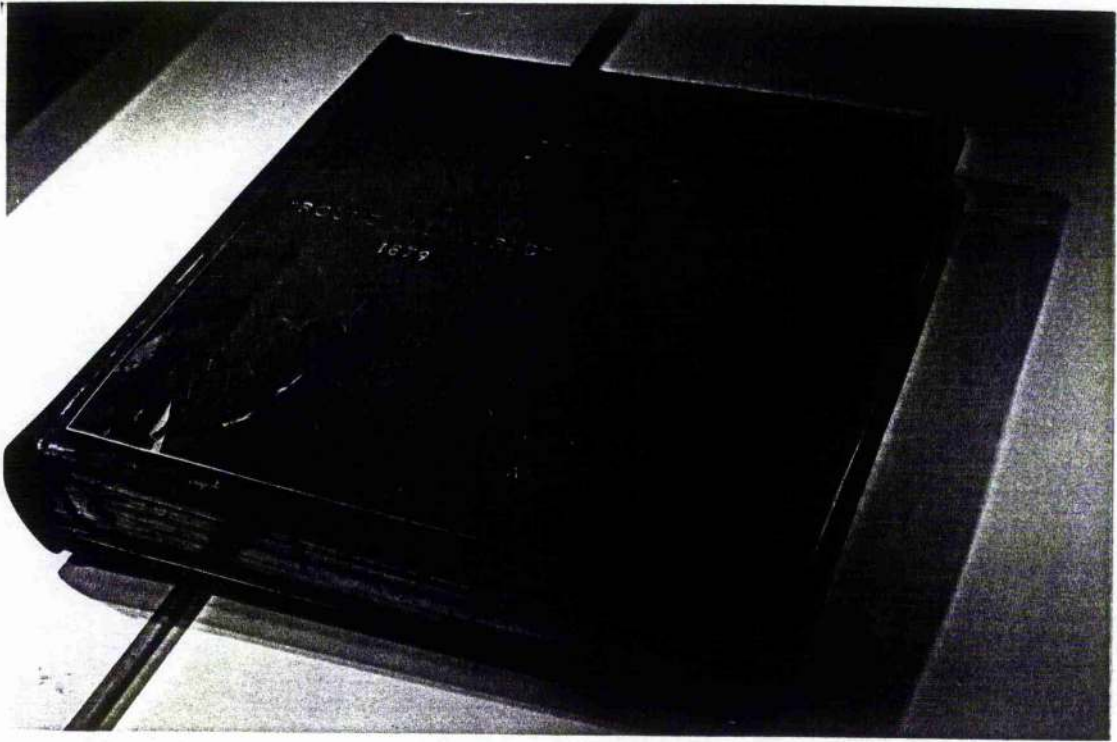


Plate. 39. The front cover of Carnegie Album, Vol. 1 : JAPAN/
"ROUND THE WORLD" / 1879 / Andrew Carnegie.

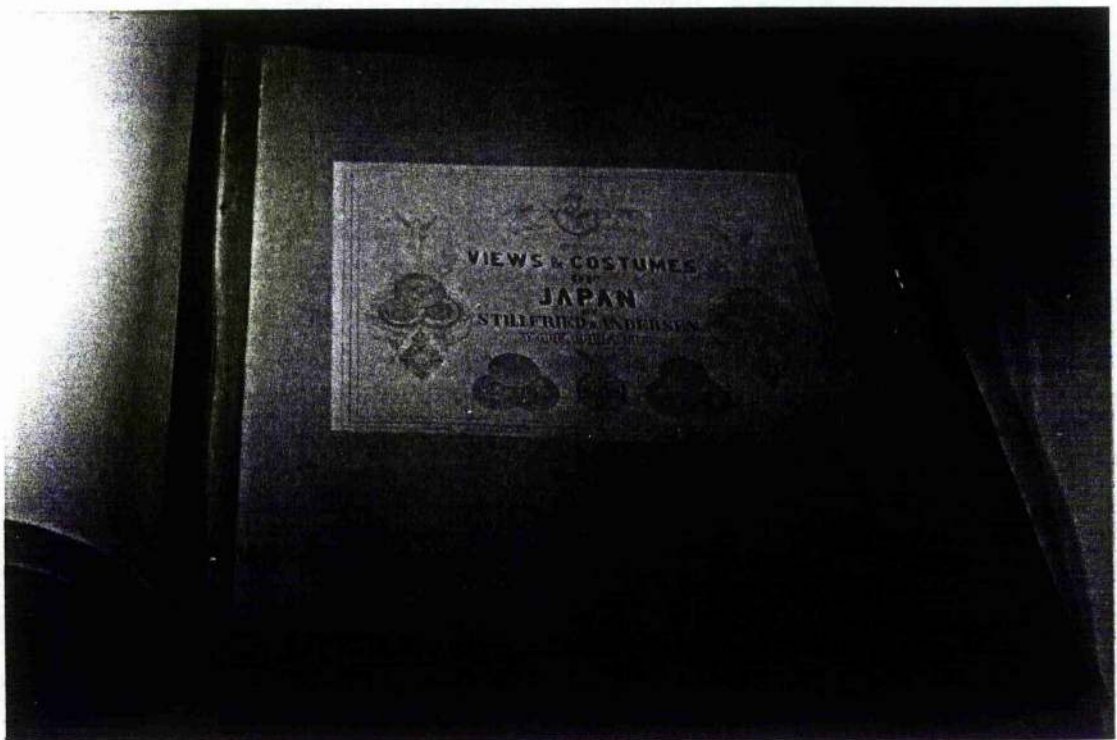


Plate. 40. The title page of Carnegie Album, Vol. 1 : VIEW &
CUSTUMES / OF / JAPAN / STILLFRIED & ANDERSEN. / YOKOHAMA.

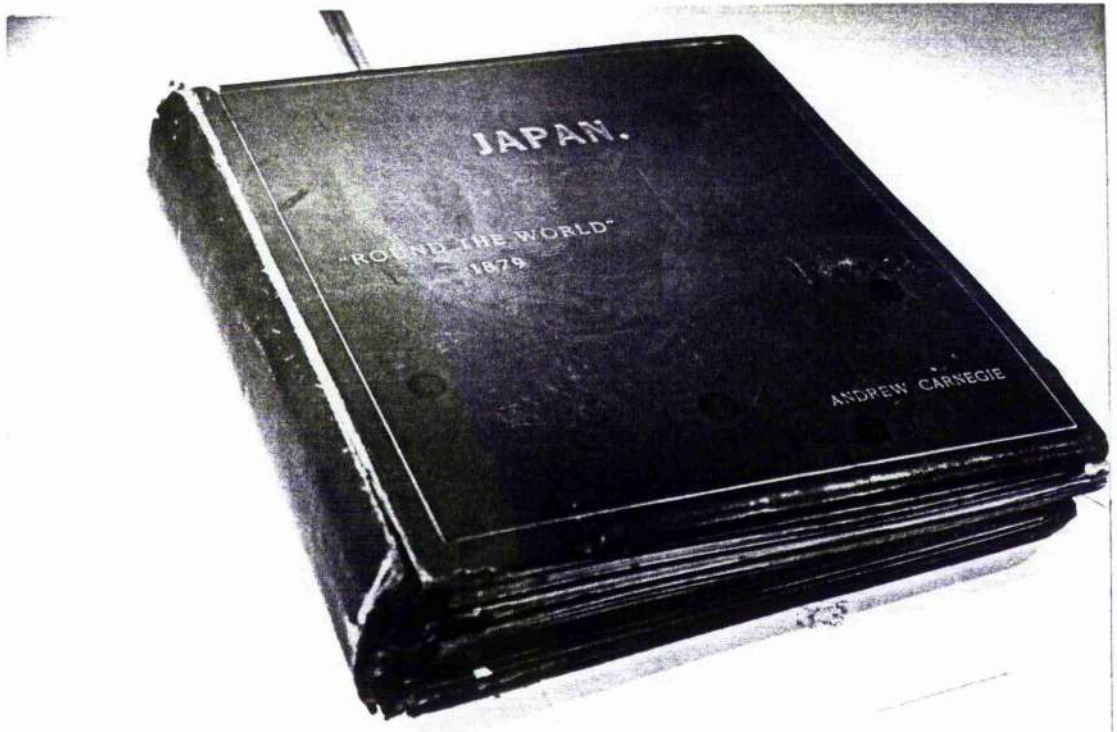


Plate. 41. The front cover of Carnegie Album, Vol. 2 : JAPAN / "ROUND THE WORLD" / 1879 / Andrew Carnegie.

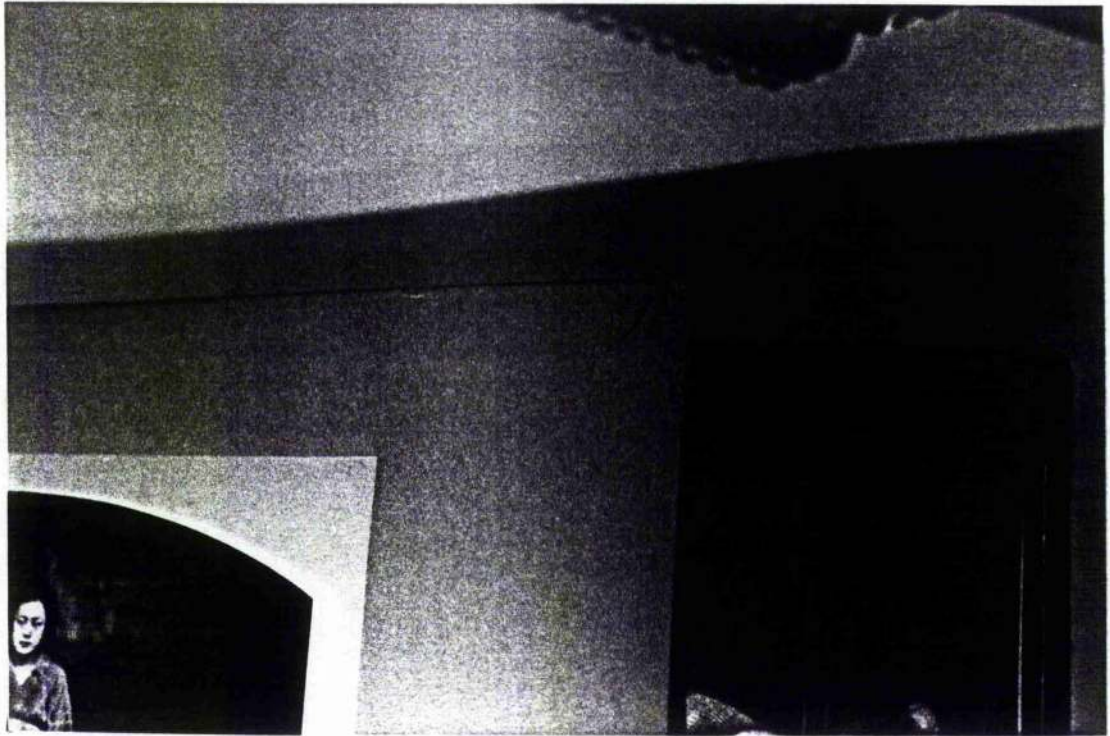


Plate. 42. Pages of the Carnegie Album with page order numbers added by Andrew Carnegie.

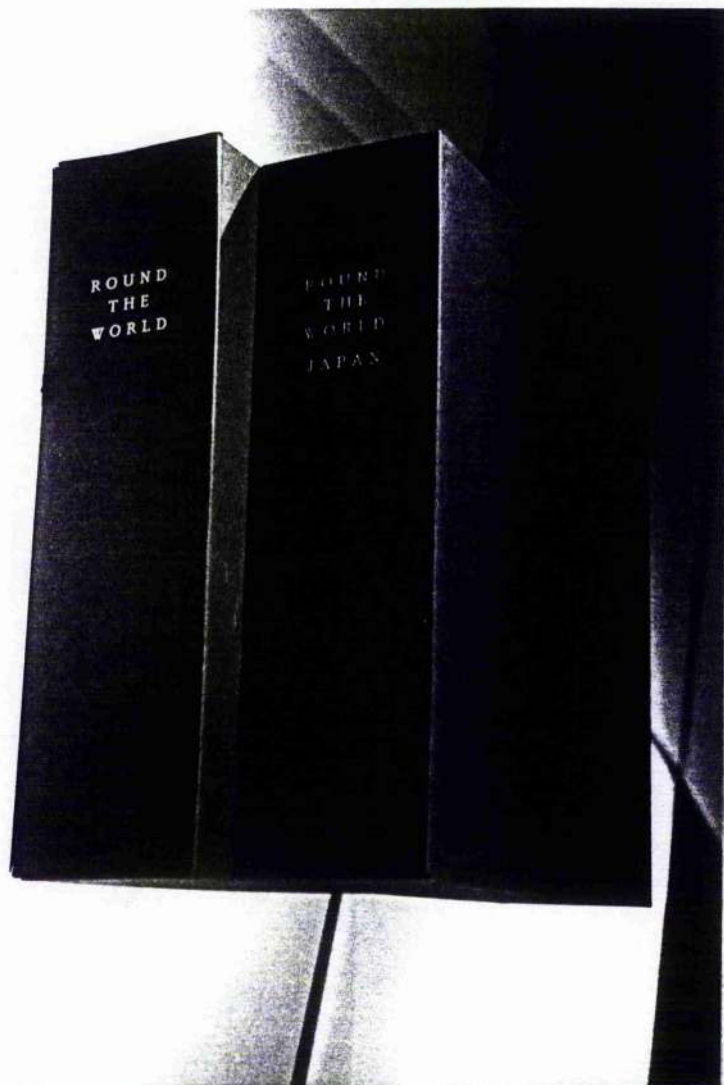


Plate. 43. The Modern Solander Boxes in which the Carnegie albums are stored.



Plate. 44. Carnegie, Andrew. *Round the World*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884. Donated to the museum by Mrs. Margaret Carnegie Miller in November 1968.

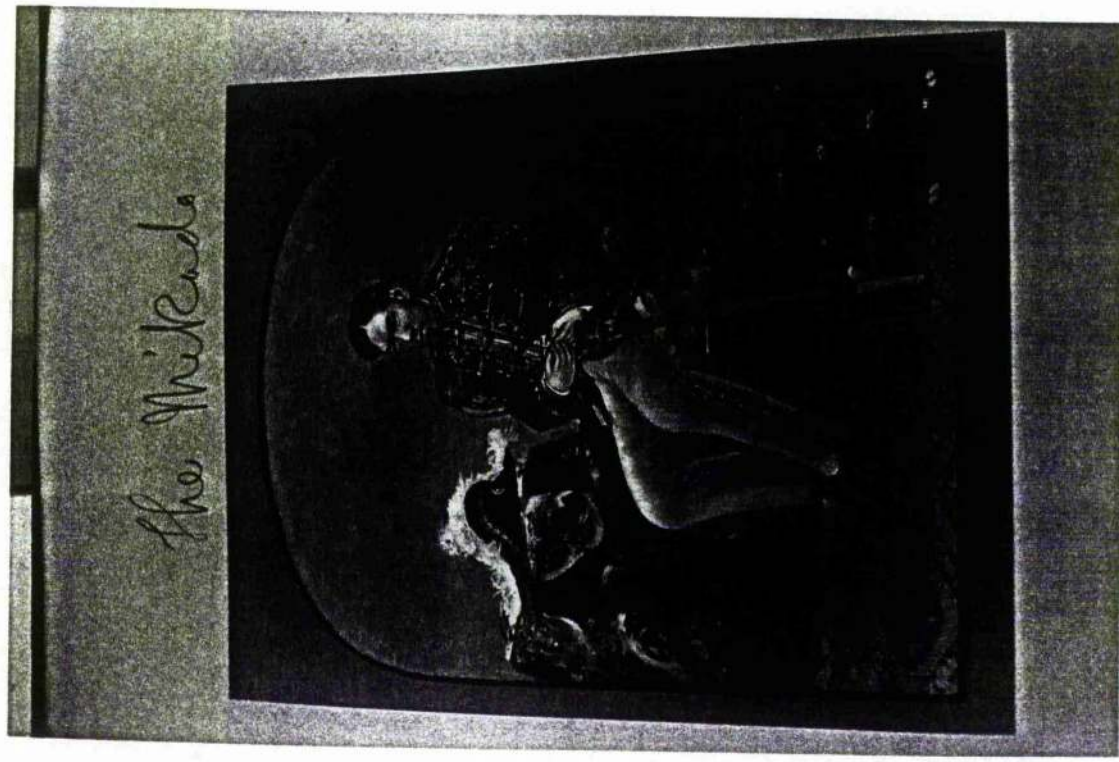


Plate. 45. Uchida Kuichi, *The Mikado* [*The Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito*], albumen tinted print, 1873.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

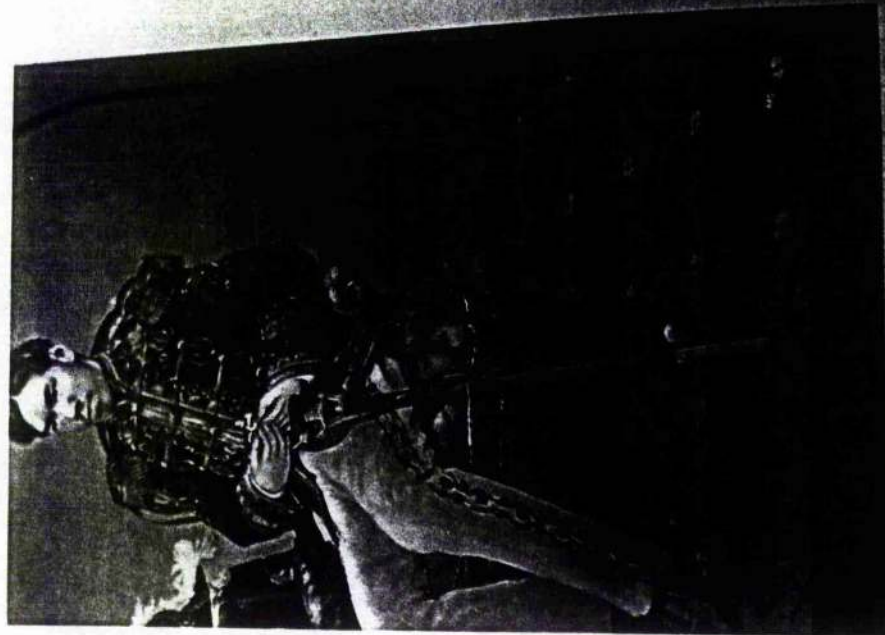


Plate. 45a. Detail of Plate. 45.

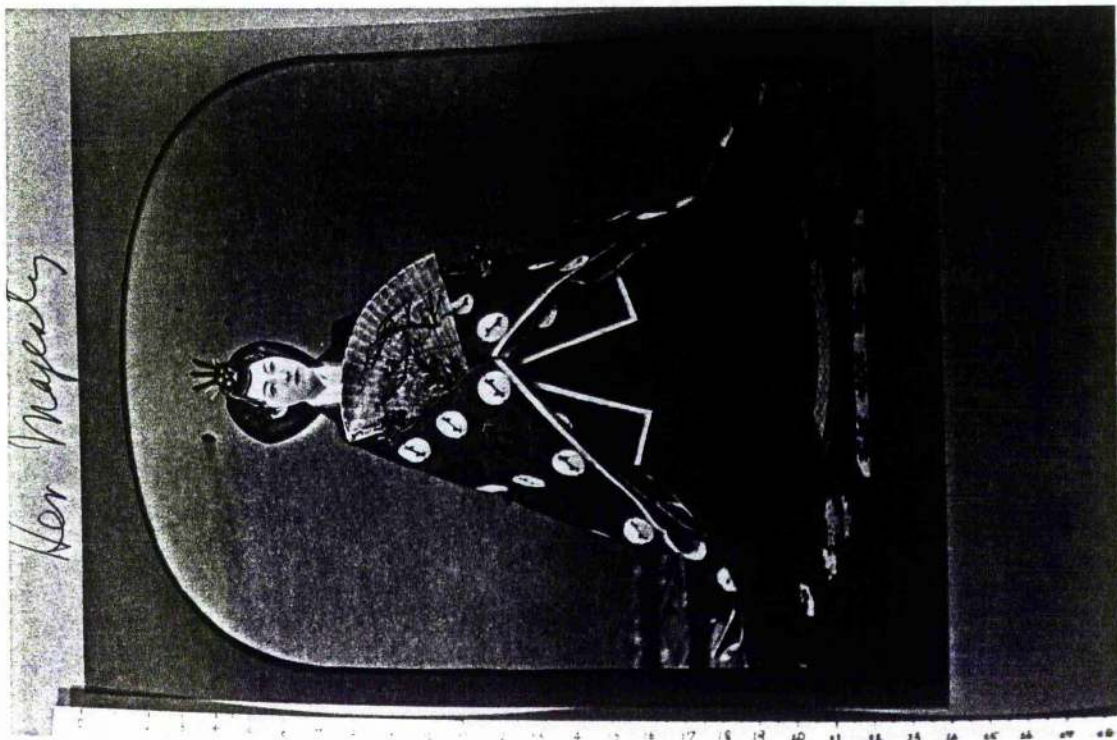


Plate. 46. Uchida Kuichi, *Her Majesty [The Meiji Empress, Haruko]*, albumen tinted print, 1873. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 47. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Five Geishas Playing Musical Instruments]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

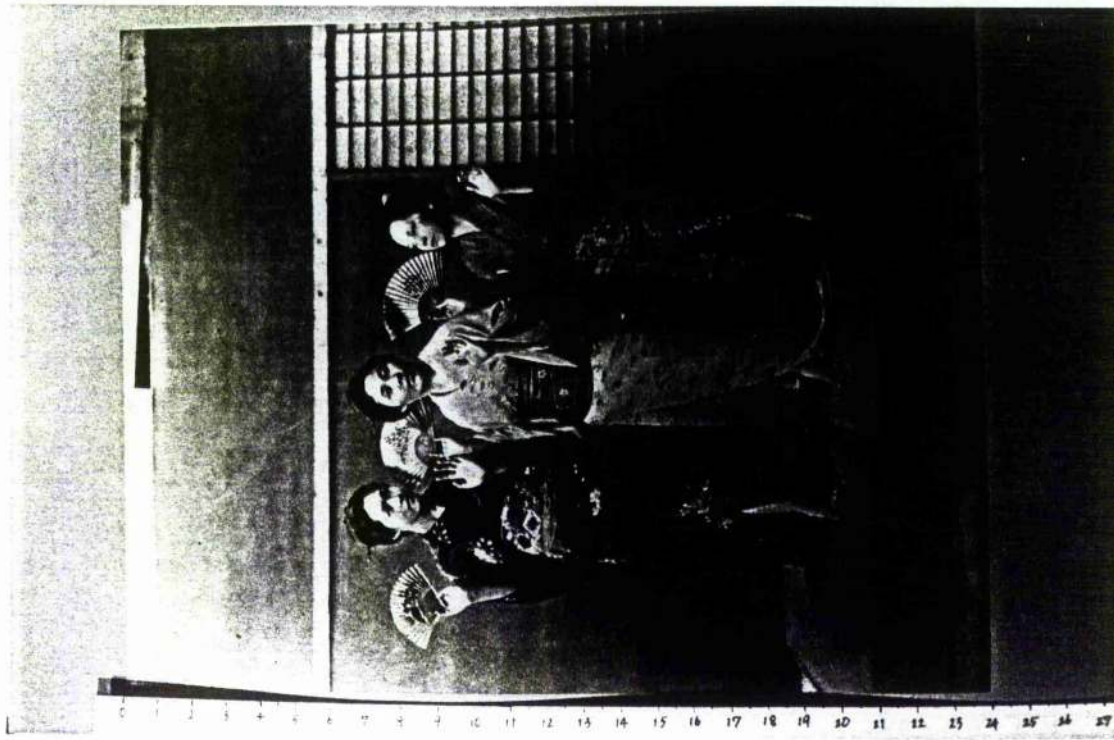


Plate. 48. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[Three Dancing Girls with Japanese Fans],
albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie
Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

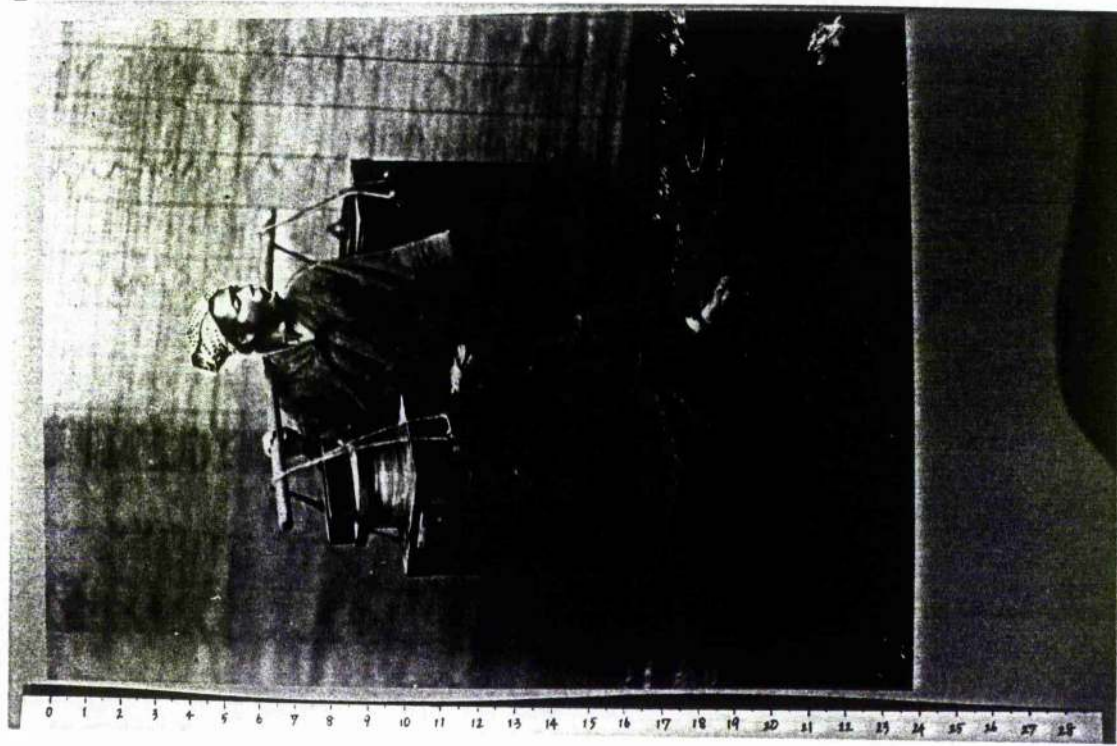


Plate. 49. Felice Beato, [Street Vendor of
Amazake(Fermented Drink)], albumen tinted print,
1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

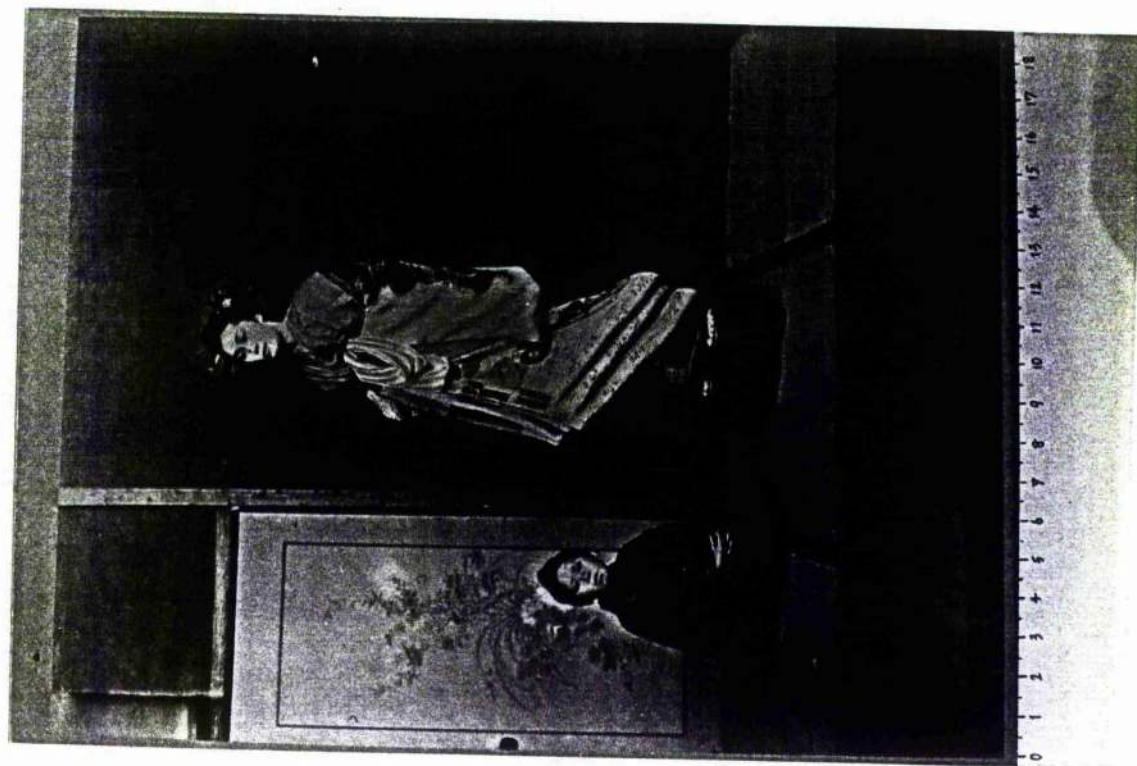


Plate. 50. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[*Oiran Courtesan with Girl*], albumen tinted print,
1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

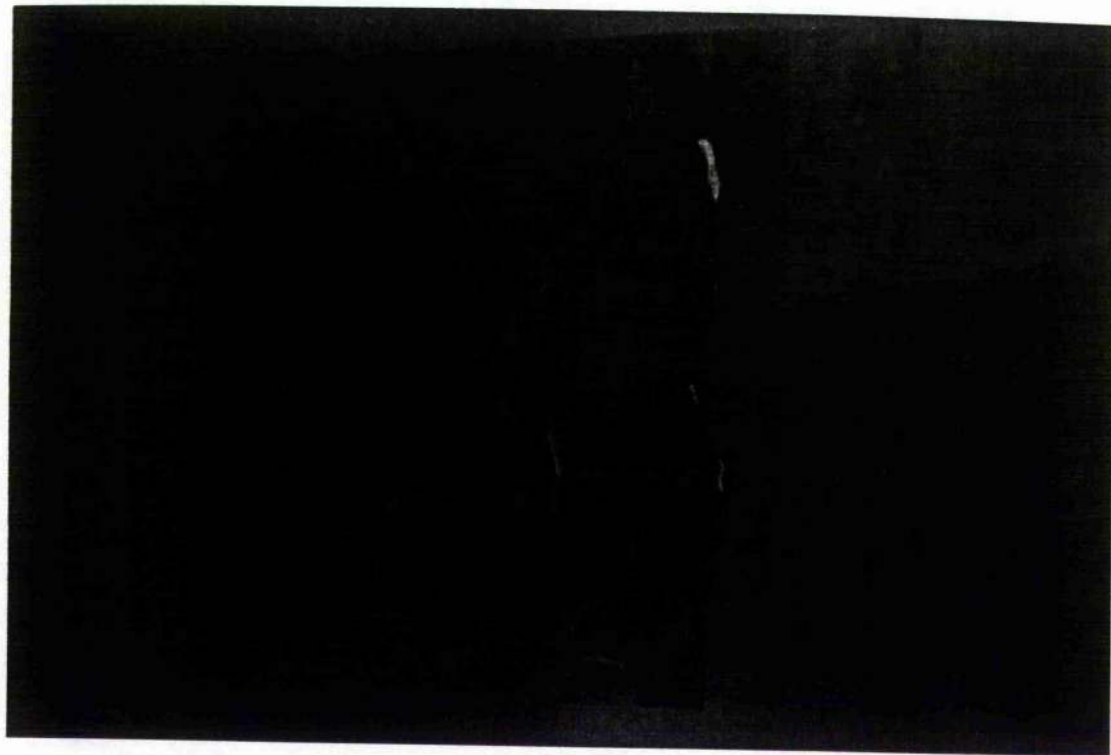


Plate. 51. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[*Deliver Man*], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 52. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[*Couple at Dinner*], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 53. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[*Two Girls Posing with Musical Instruments*]
[*Shamisen & Koto*], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

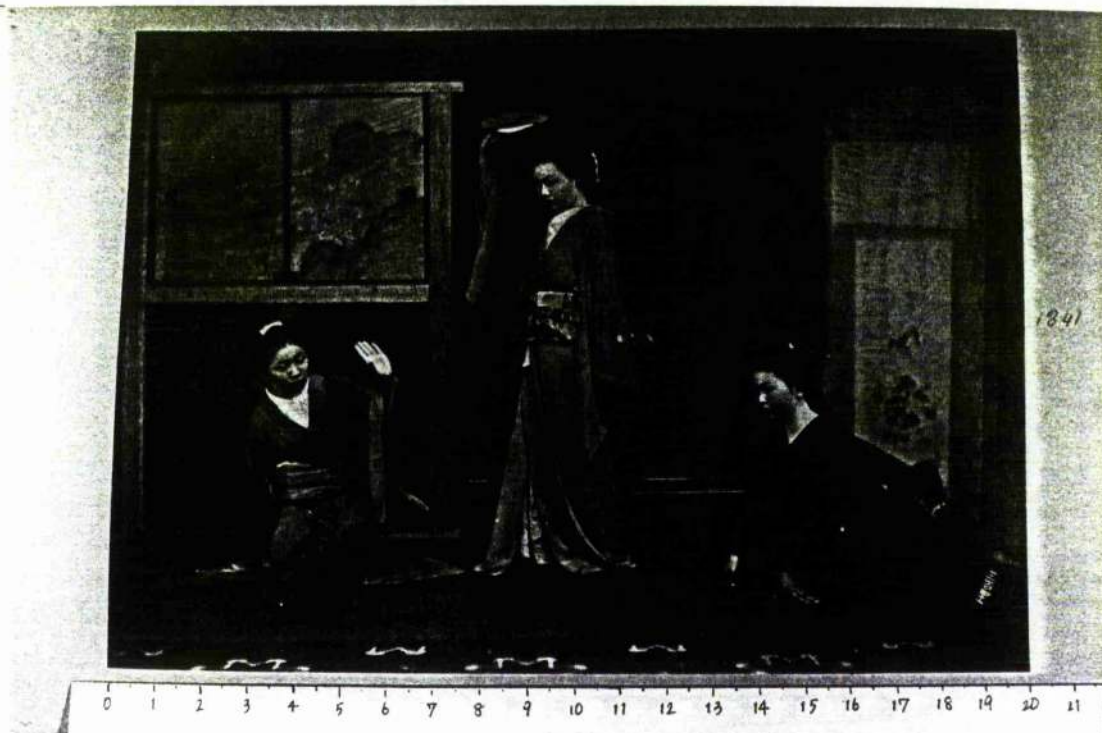


Plate. 54. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Angry Mistress Hitting Her Servant with a Sandal]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 55. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Sitting Girls with Tobacco Pipe]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 54 & 55a. Original layout
of Plate. 54 and 55.



Plate. 56. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Four Girls, Three Dancing and One Playing Shamisen]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

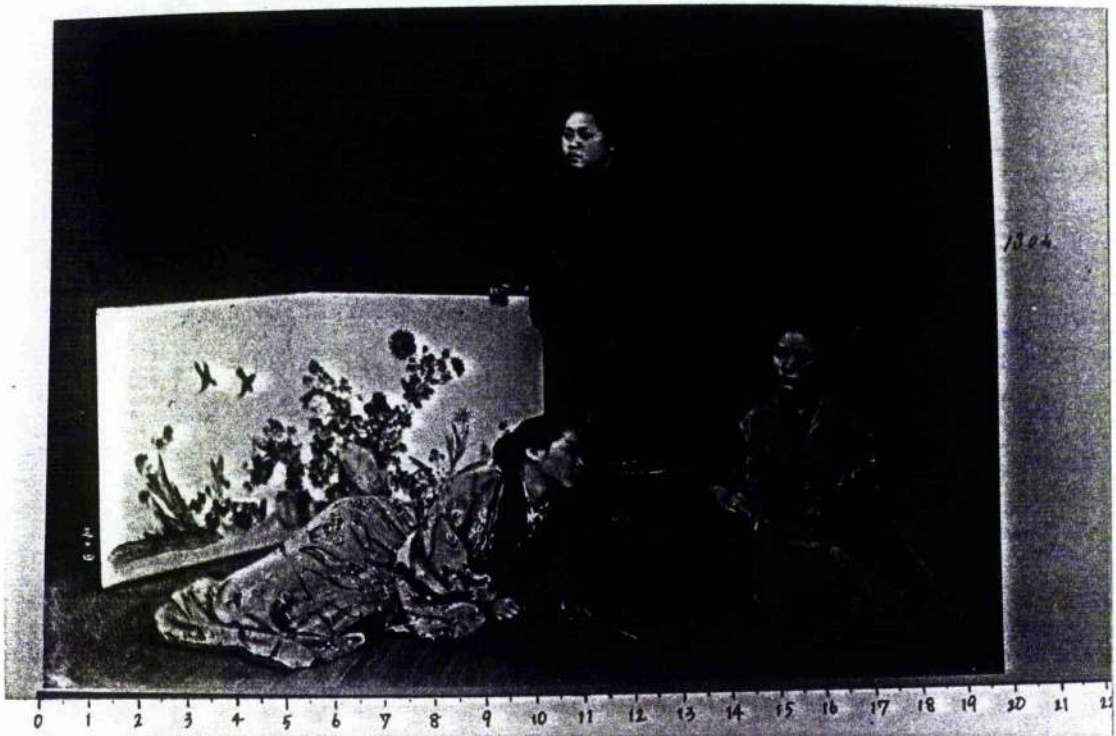


Plate. 57. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Girls Posing with Pipe]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

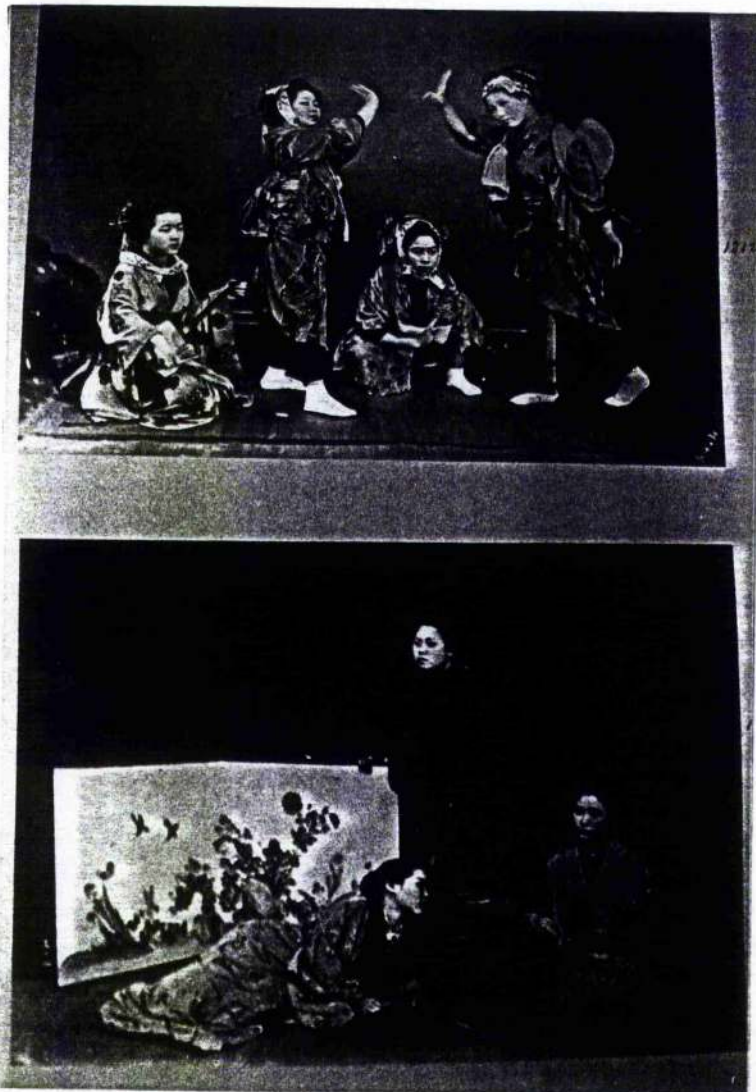


Plate. 56 & 57a. Original layout of Plate. 56 and 57.



Plate 58. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[*Two Men with Tattooed Back*], albumen tinted print,
1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate 59. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[*Two Girls with Japanese Umbrella*], albumen tinted
print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

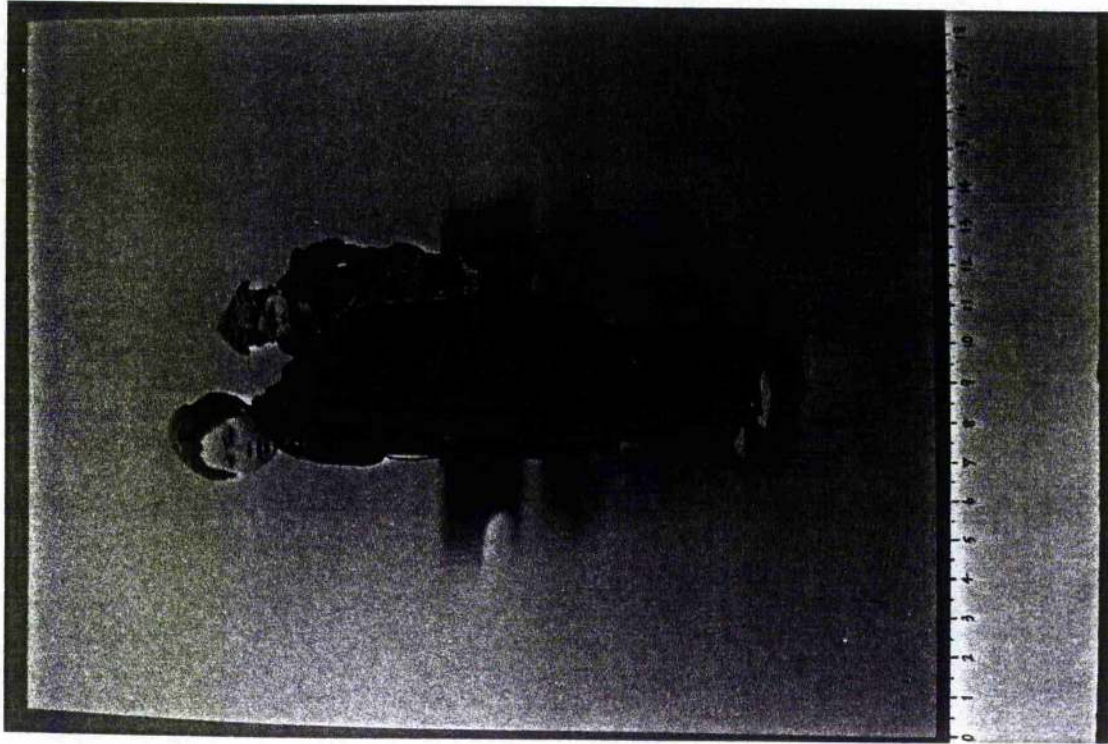


Plate. 60. Felice Beato, *[Mother Carrying Baby on Her Back]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

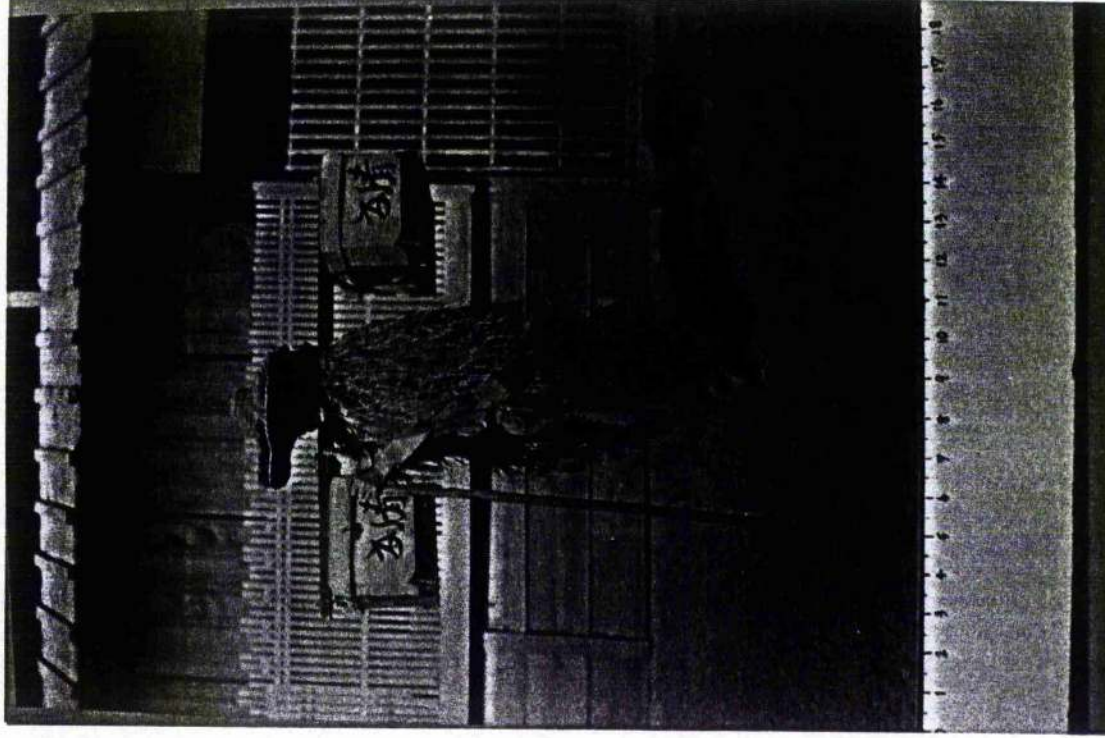


Plate. 61. Felice Beato, *[Porter with Mino (Coat) & Kasa (Hat)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 62. Felice Beato, *[Man Posing in Pilgrim Costume]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

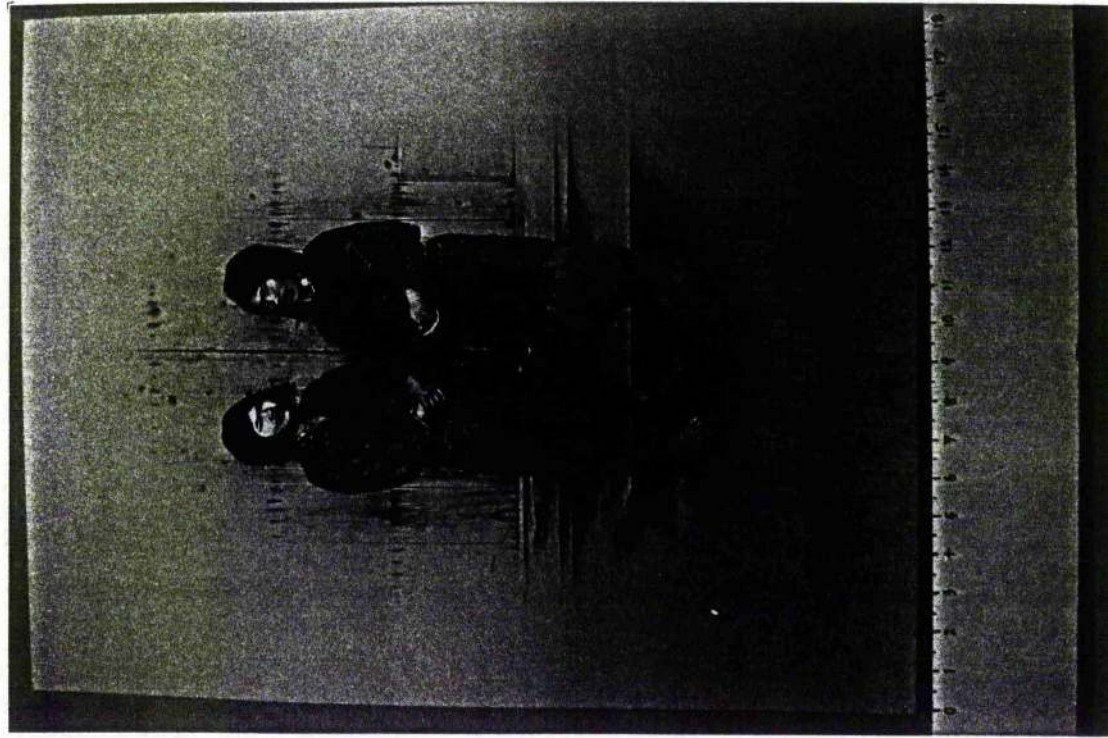


Plate. 63. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Ainu Women]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate 64. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Pregnant Woman]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate 65. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *Ainus Island of Yesso [Three Ainu Men]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

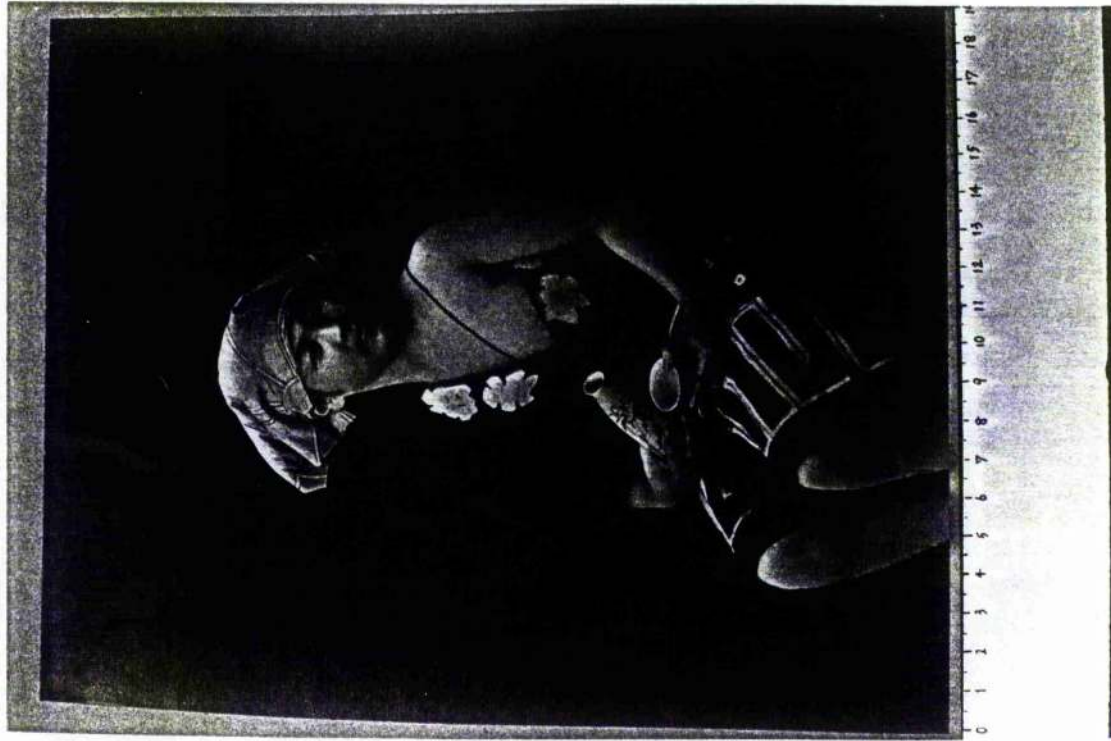


Plate. 66. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[Woman Wearing Festival Costume, Holding
Tukkuri(Flask) & Sakazuki(Drinking Bowl)], albumen
tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

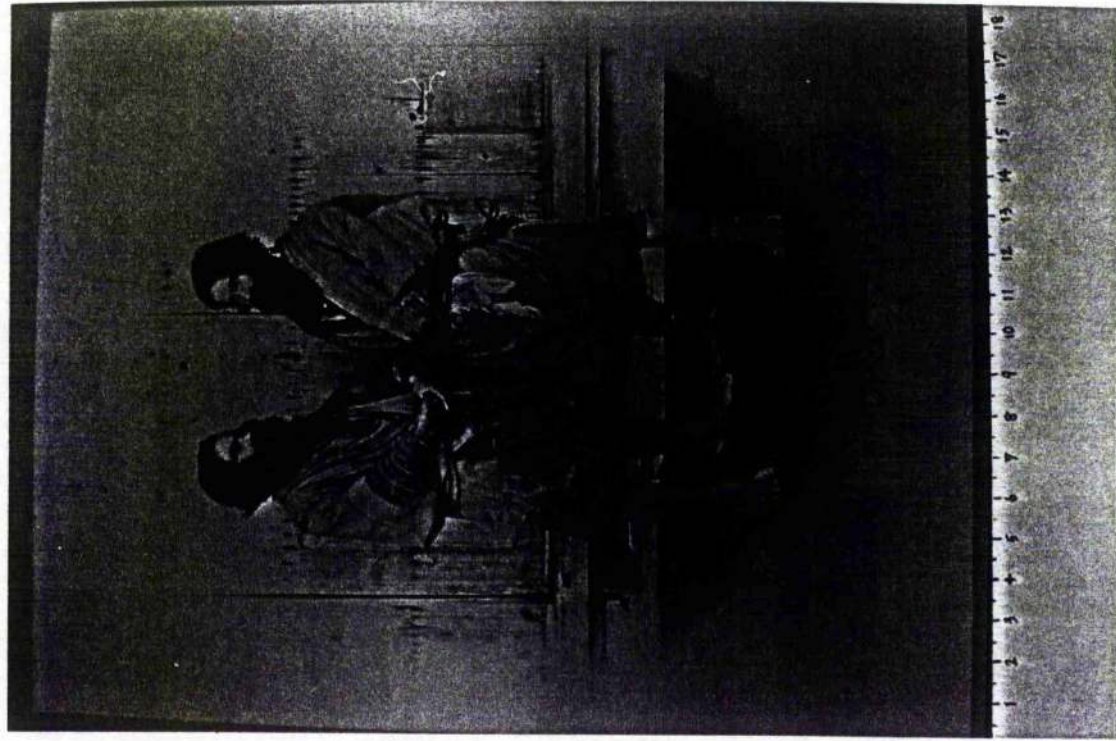


Plate. 67. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz,
[Two Ainu Men], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

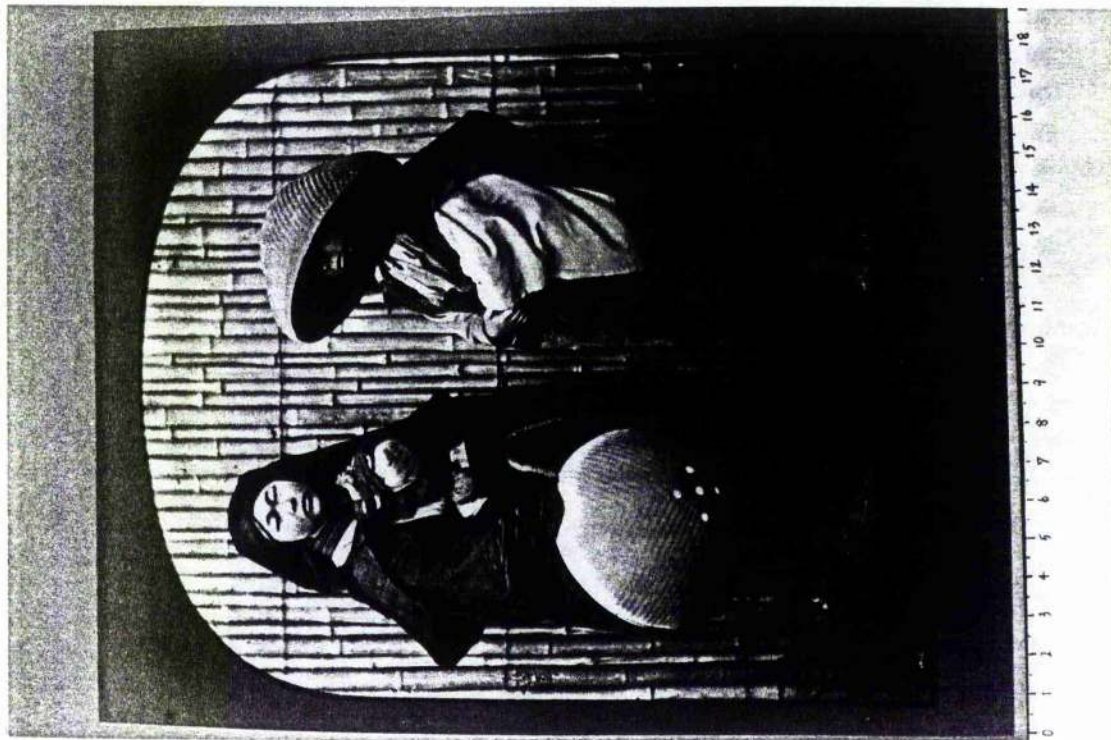


Plate. 68. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), *[Two Buddhist Nuns]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

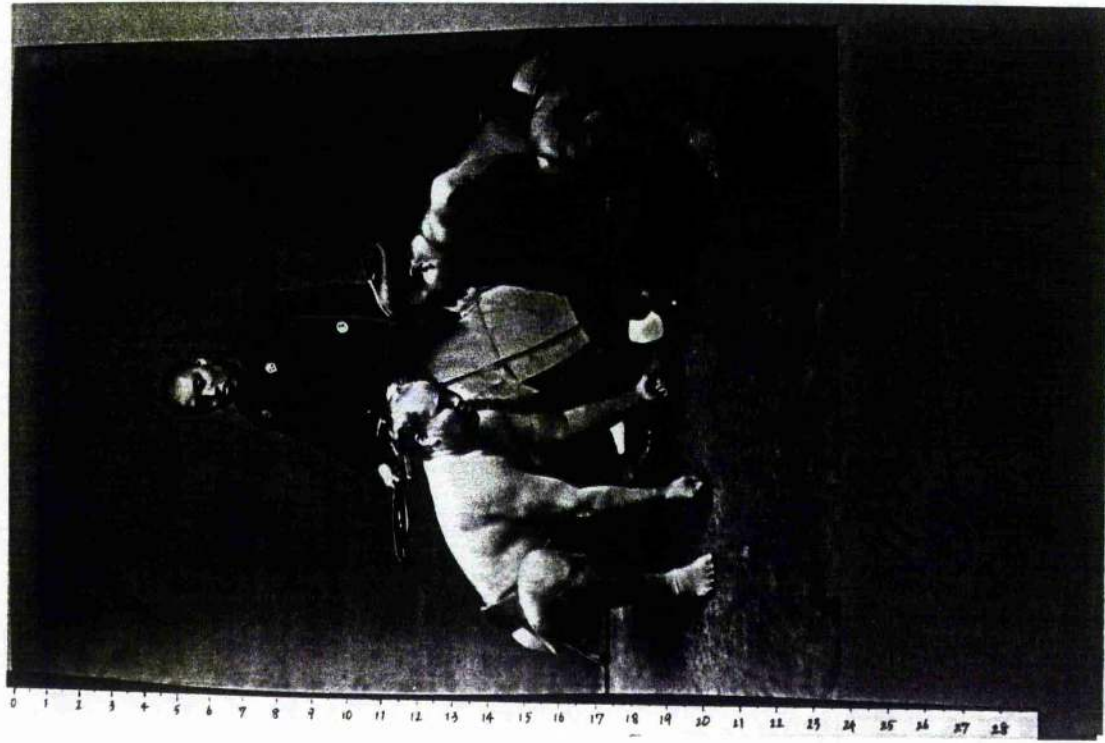


Plate. 69. Felice Beato, *Wrestlers [Two Sumo Wrestlers with Gyogi(Referee)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

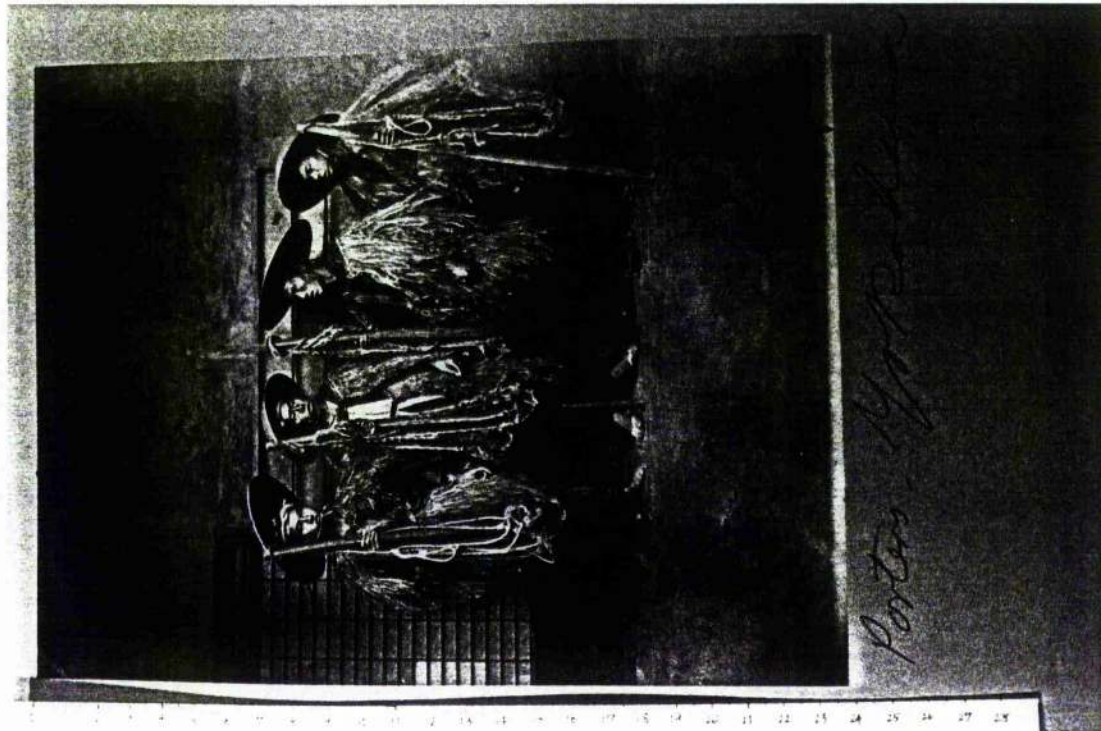


Plate. 70. Anonymous photographer, Porters, Yokohama [Four Porters with Wooden Staffs, Mino(Coat) & Kasa(Hat)], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

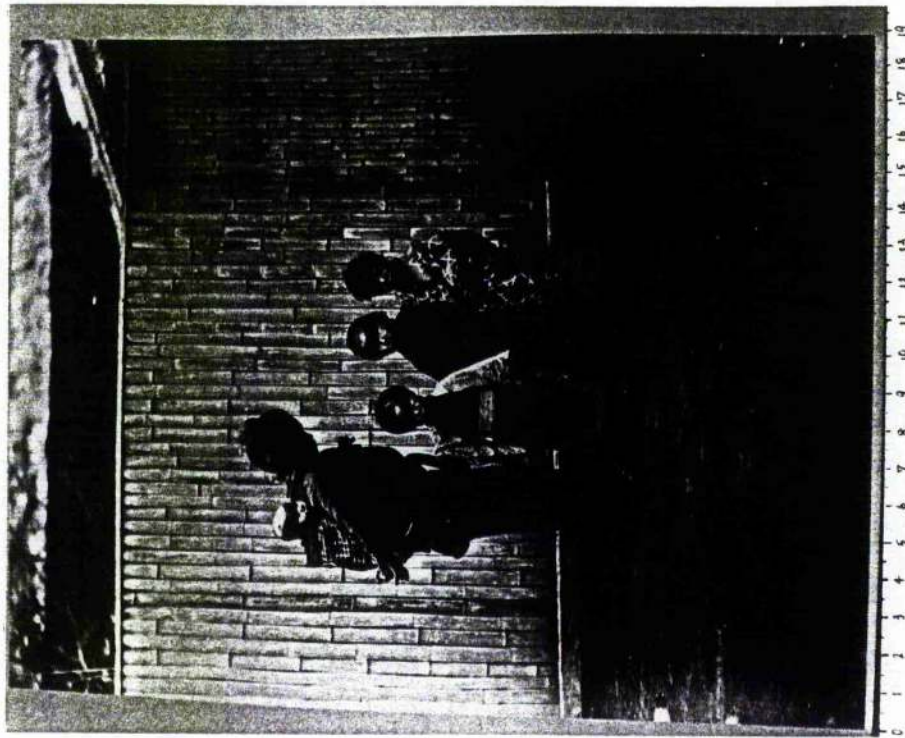
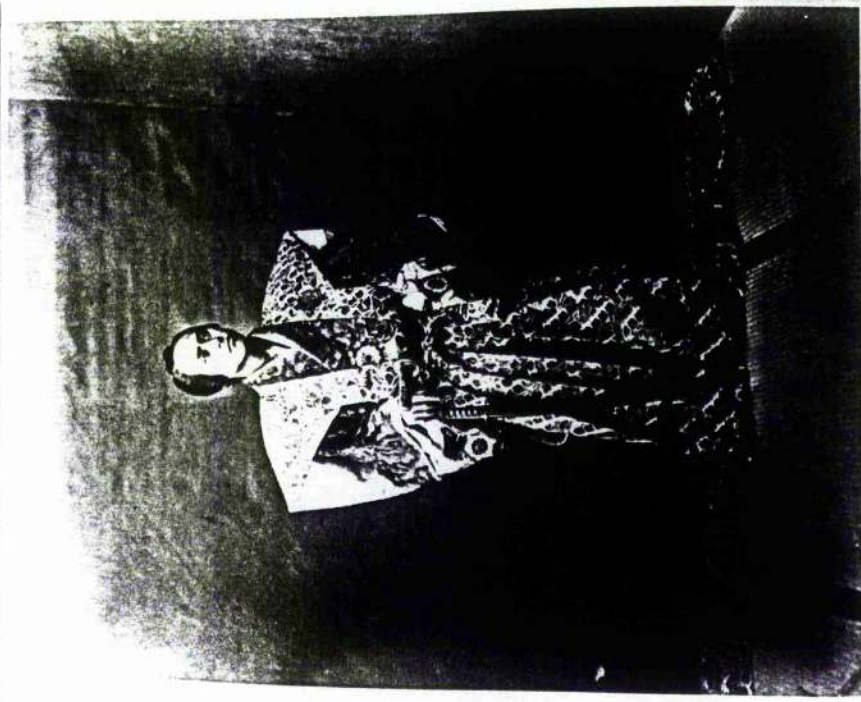


Plate. 71. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [Mother Carrying a Baby on Her Back with Three Children], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



The Leading Tradegian

Plate. 72. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *The Leading Tradegian* [Man in the Formal Dress of a High Ranking Samurai], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 73. Anonymous photographer, *Shampooers* [Blind Masseur and Old Lady Customer], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 74. Anonymous photographer, [*Mail Delivery Man*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

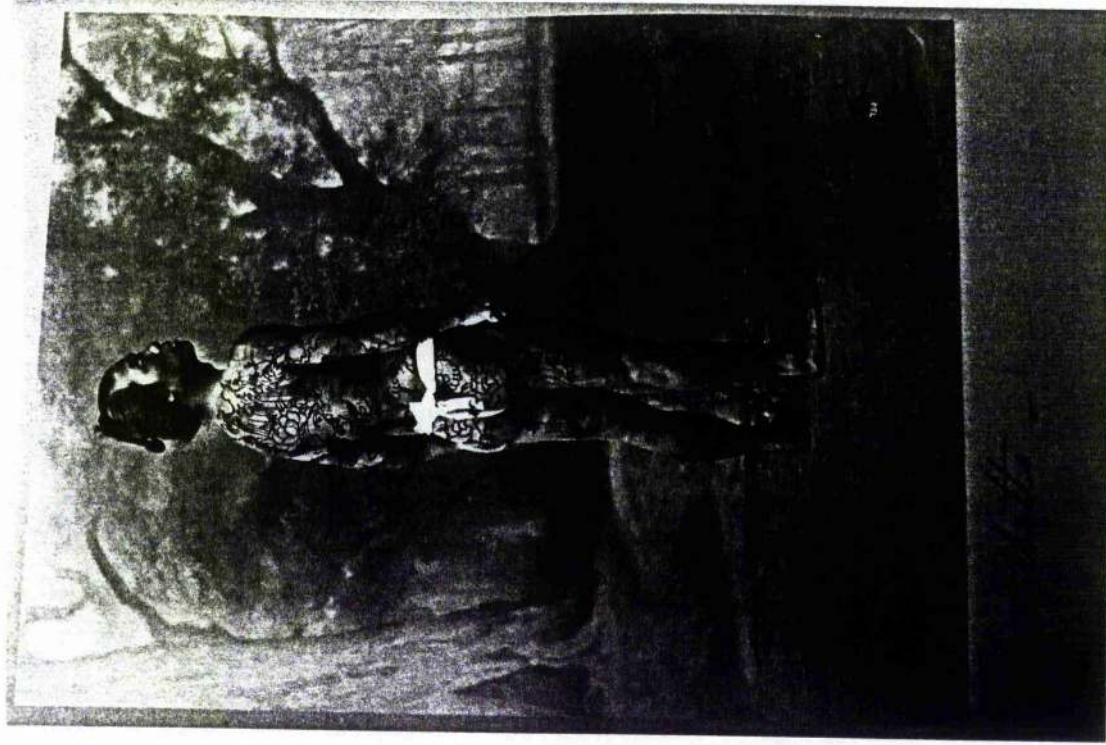


Plate. 75. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *An Ahetto*[?] [*Man with Tattooed Back*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 76. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Four Girls, One Sitting]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 77. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Scene of Three Girls in an Argument]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 76 & 77a. Original layout
of Plate. 76 and 77.



Plate. 78. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of a Draper's Shop*], albumen tinted
print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 79. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Mistress and Maid at Breakfast]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 78 & 79a. Original layout of Plate. 78 and 79.



Plate. 80. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of Pipe Seller and Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 81. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Scene of Plant Seller and Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 80 & 81a. Original layout
of Plate. 80 and 81.



Plate. 82. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Five Girls with Wearing Fine Kimonos and One Sitting]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 83. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Girls Playing Go Game]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 82 & 83a. Original layout of Plate. 82 and 83.



Plate. 84. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Hairdresser Setting Customer's Hair]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 85. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Group of Six Women, Two Women Dancing and Four Playing Musical Instruments(Taiko, Tsuzumi & Shamisen)]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 84 & 85a. Original layout of Plate. 84 and 85.



Plate. 86. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Two Fishmongers]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 87. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Two Fishmongers]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 86 & 87a. Original layout of Plate. 86 and 87.

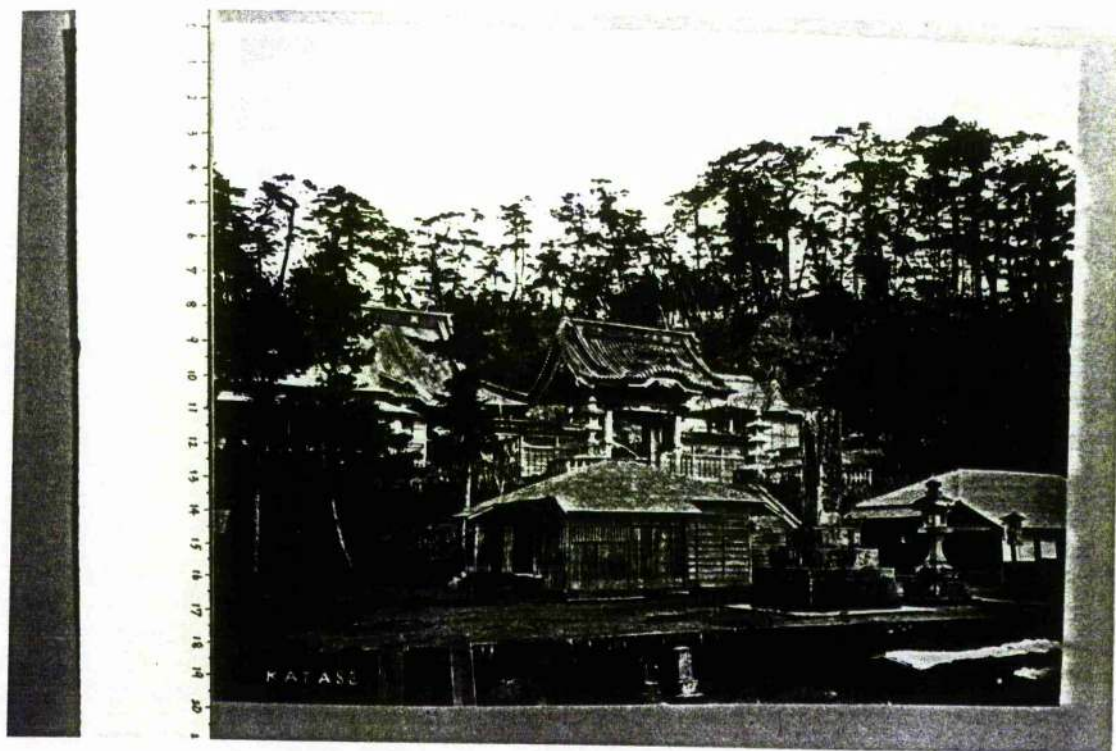


Plate. 88. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Ryukoji Temple Gate, Katase*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 89. Felice Beato, [*Large Korean Junk and Crew*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 90. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*People on Board Pleasure Barge(Yakata-bune) with House in Background*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

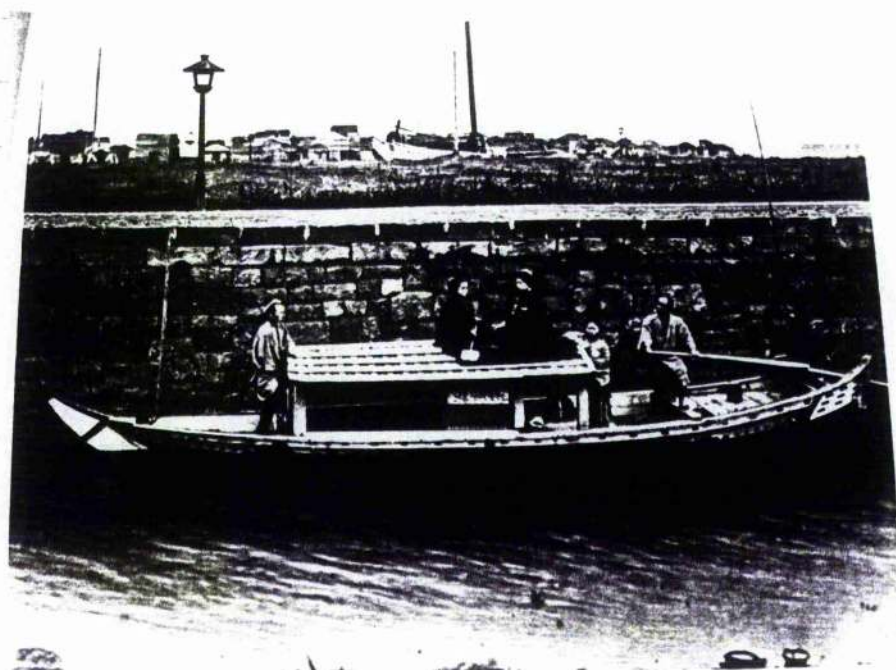


Plate. 91. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Musicians and Crew of Pleasure Barge(Yakata-bune)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Chinese Policemen

Plate. 92. Anonymous photographer, *Chinese Policemen*, albumen print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

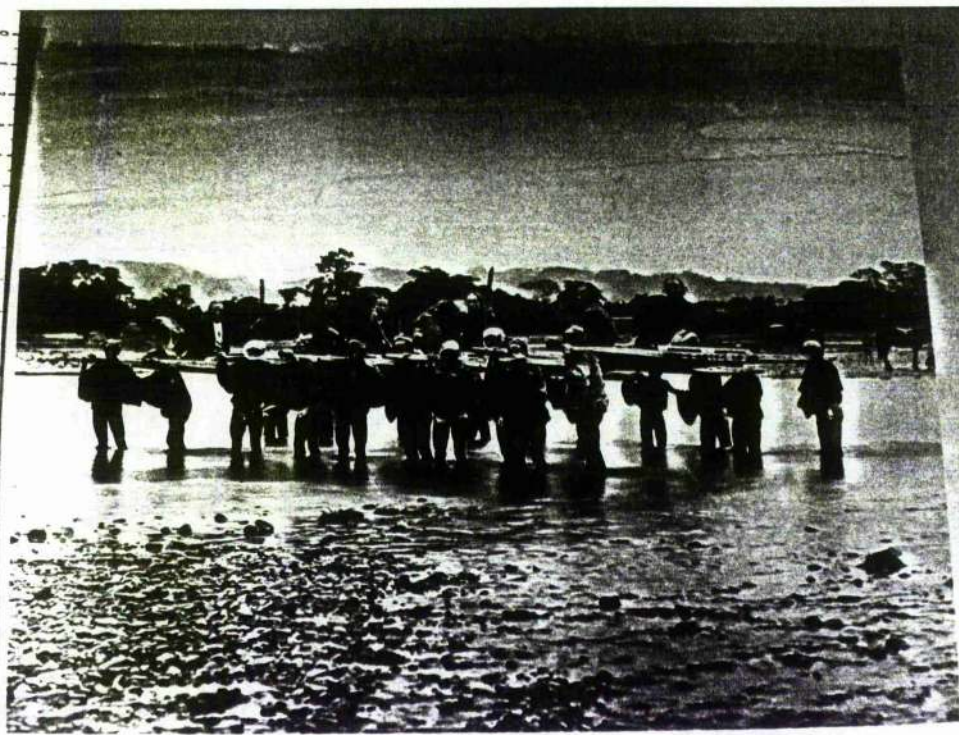


Plate. 93. Felice Beato, [*Ferrymen at the Ford at Sakana-Ne Gawa River*], albumen tinted print, 1866-67. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 94. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), *[Nine People and Rickshaw being Transported by Raft with Village in Background]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

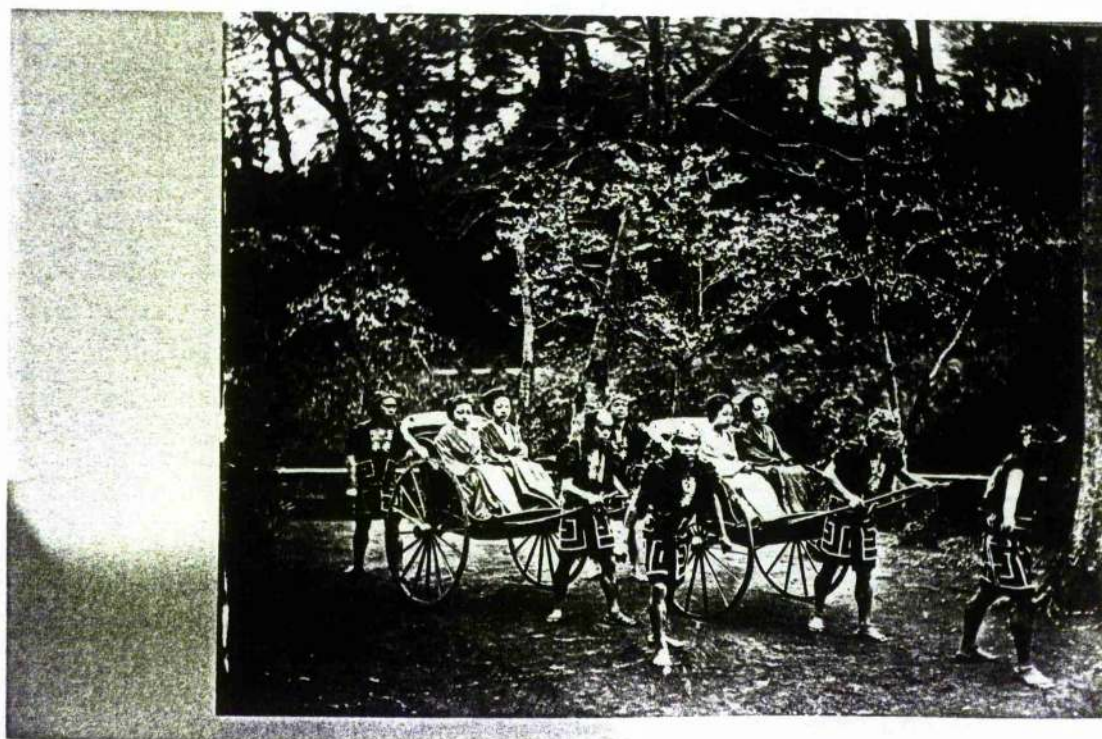


Plate. 95. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Women Enjoying the Cherry Blossoms From Rickshaws]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

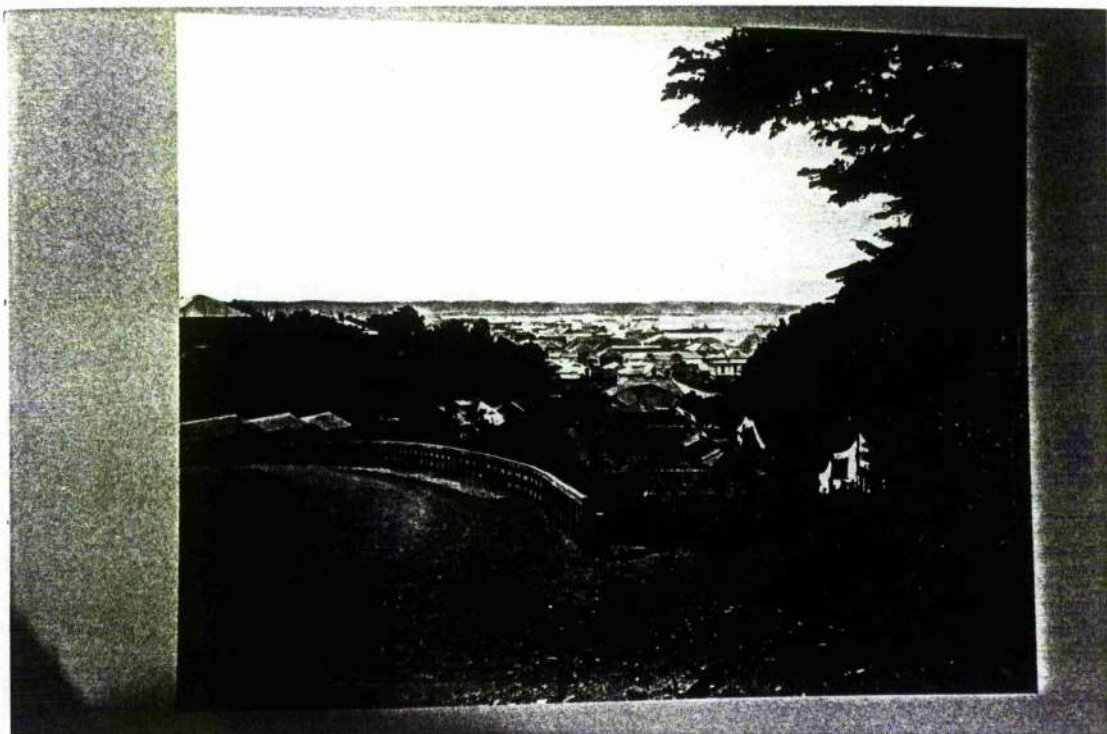


Plate. 96. Anonymous photographer, *[View of Yokohama Port]*, albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 97. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Four men Posing in Front of Kara-mon Gate in Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

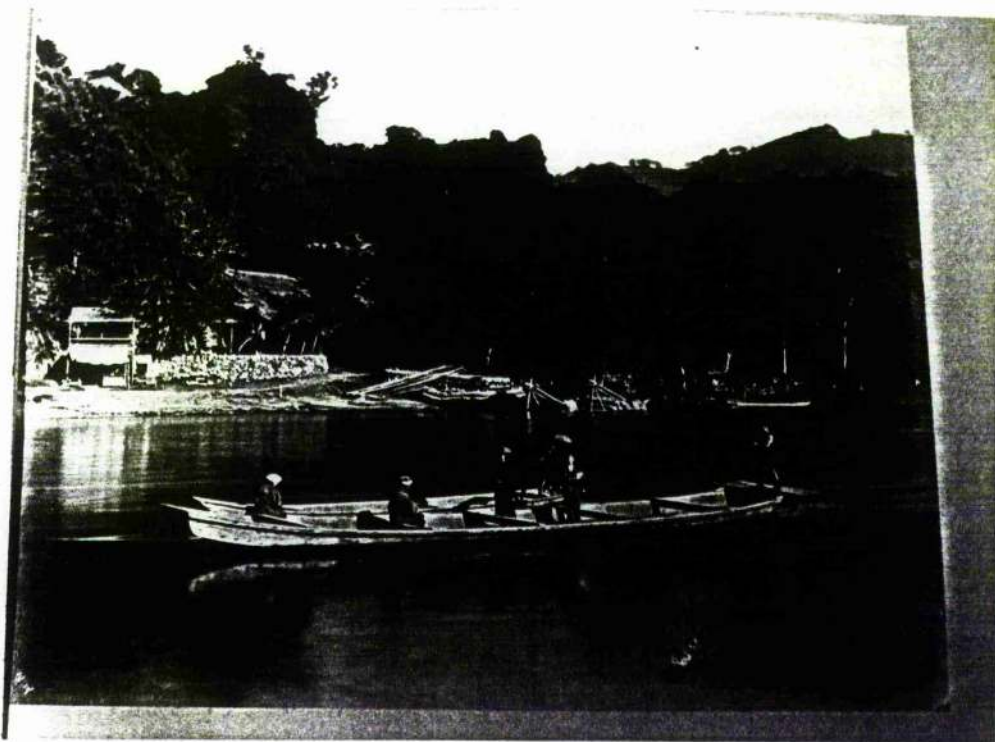


Plate. 98. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Six People on Two Rafts on a River]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

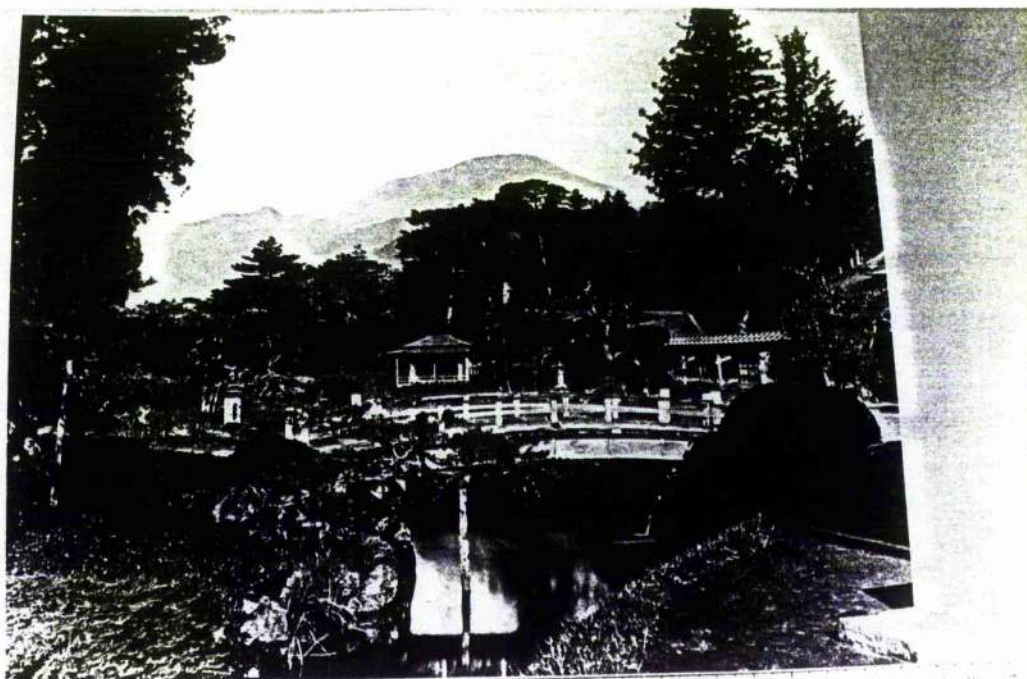


Plate. 99. Shuzaburo Usui[?], *[Garden at Manganji in Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

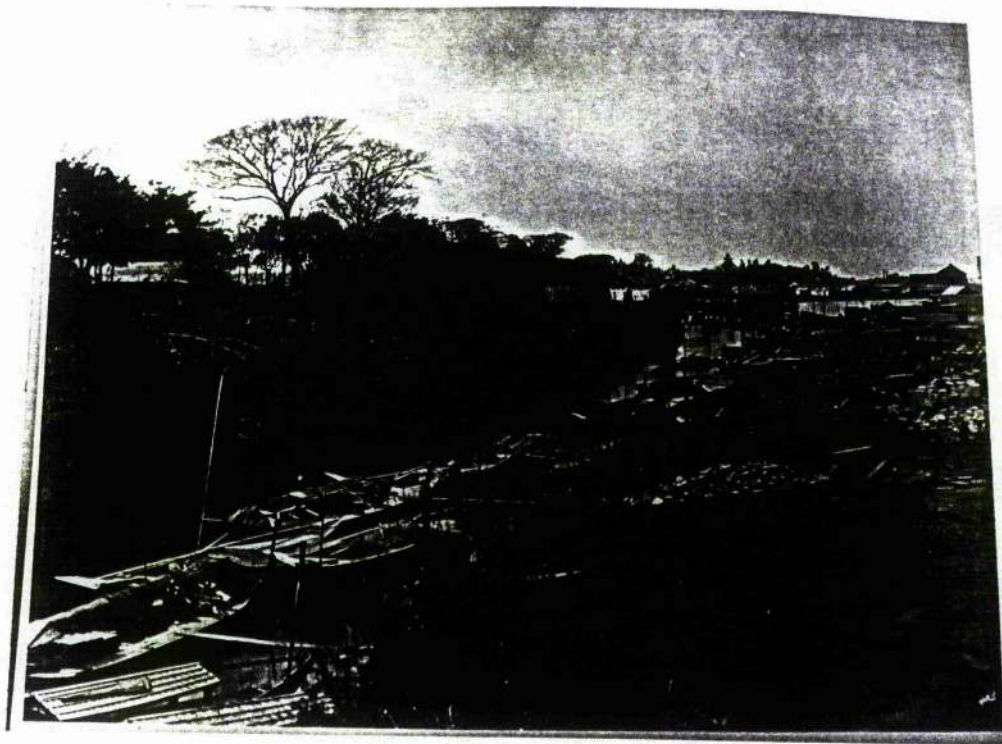


Plate. 100. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Cargo Boats at Riverside]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

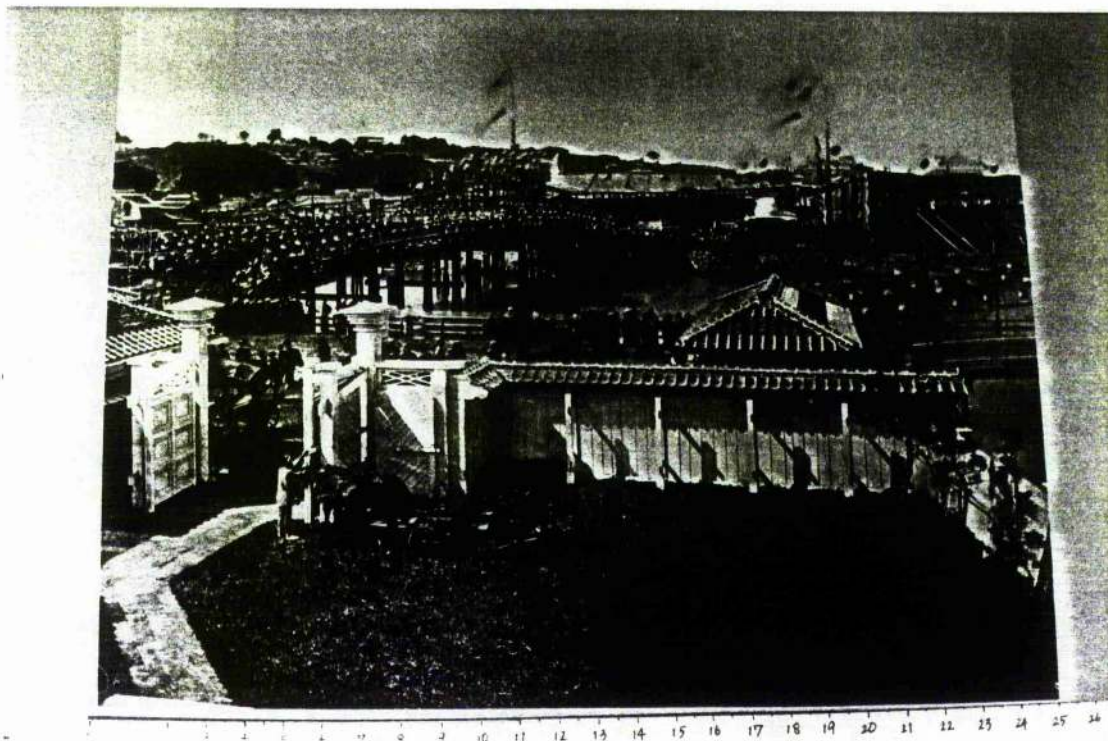


Plate. 101. Shuzaburo Usui, *[View of the Oe Bridge and Yokohama Train Station on Opening Day or on a Visit of the Meiji Emperor Taken from the Ex-Foreign Affairs Office at Ogami-Town]*, albumen tinted print, 1872[?]. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 102. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Statue of the Kamakura Buddha*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

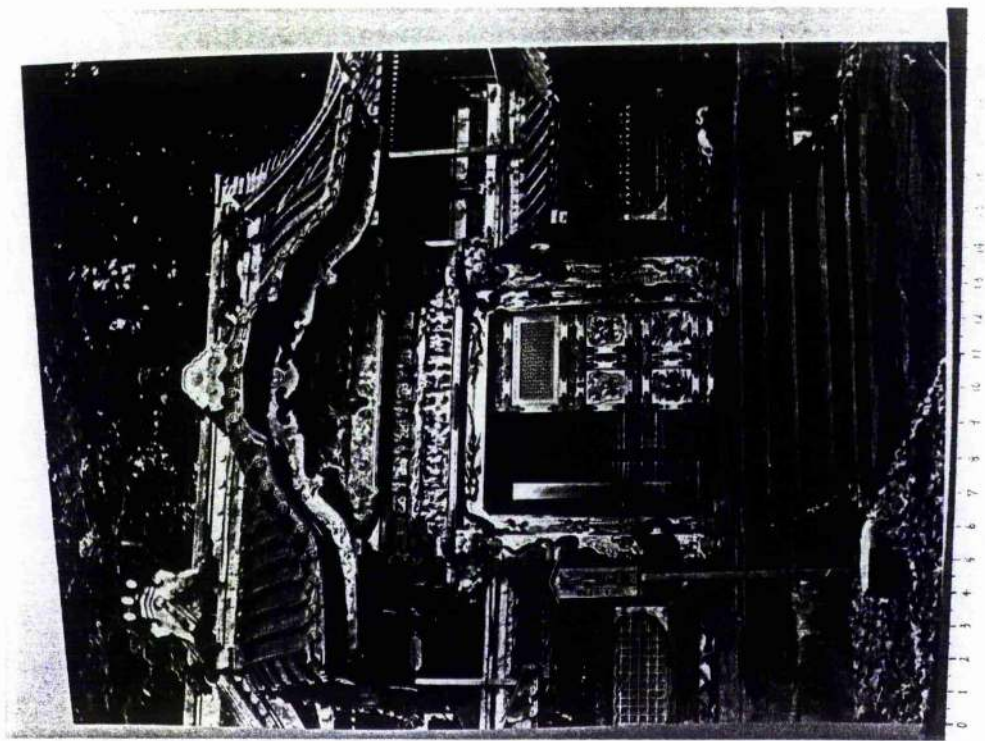


Plate. 103. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Front of Kara-mon Gate in Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1876. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

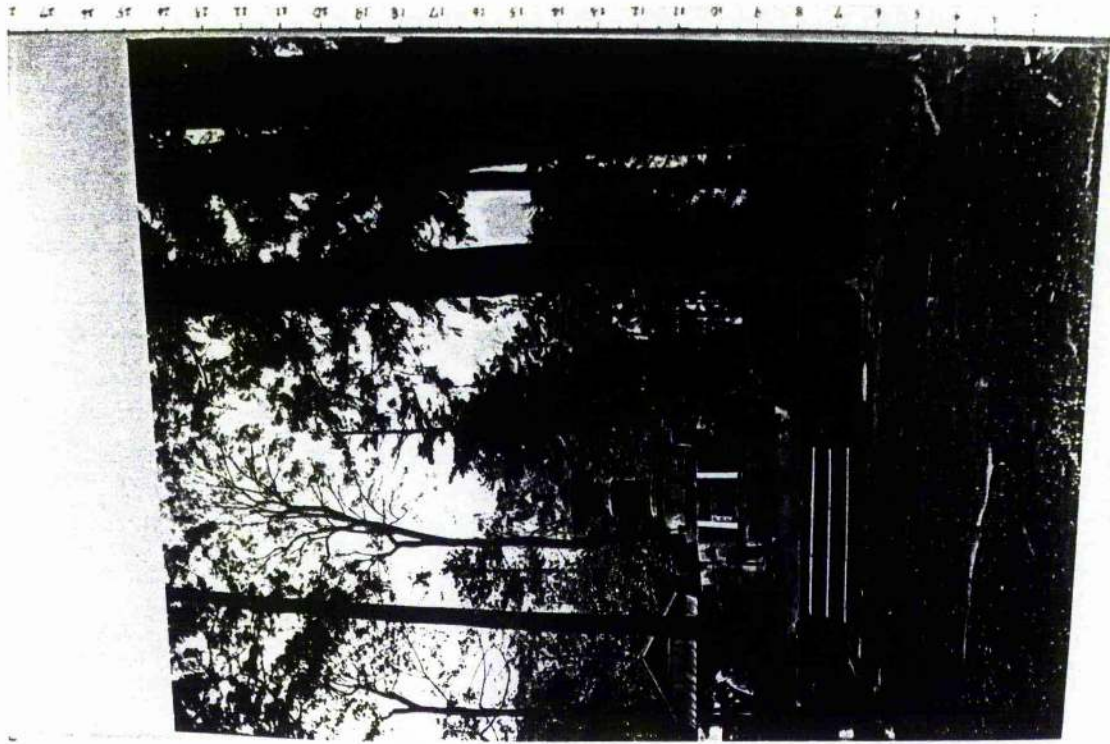


Plate. 104. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Precincts*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

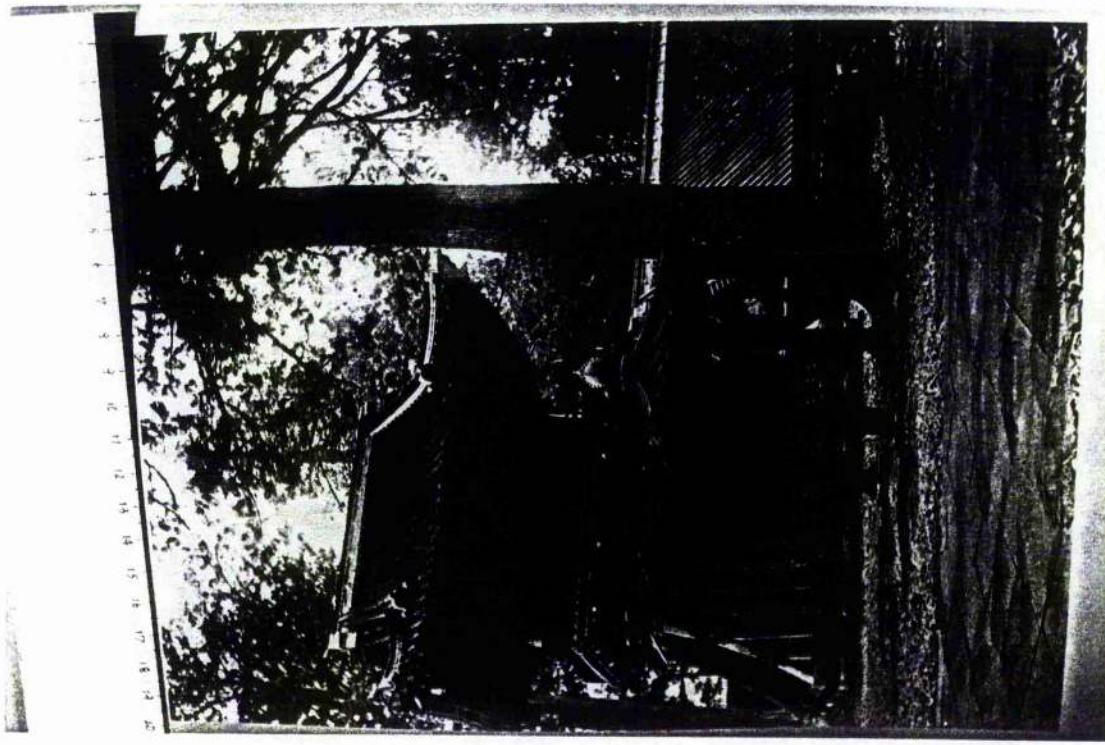


Plate. 105. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Precincts*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 106. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Asakusa ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

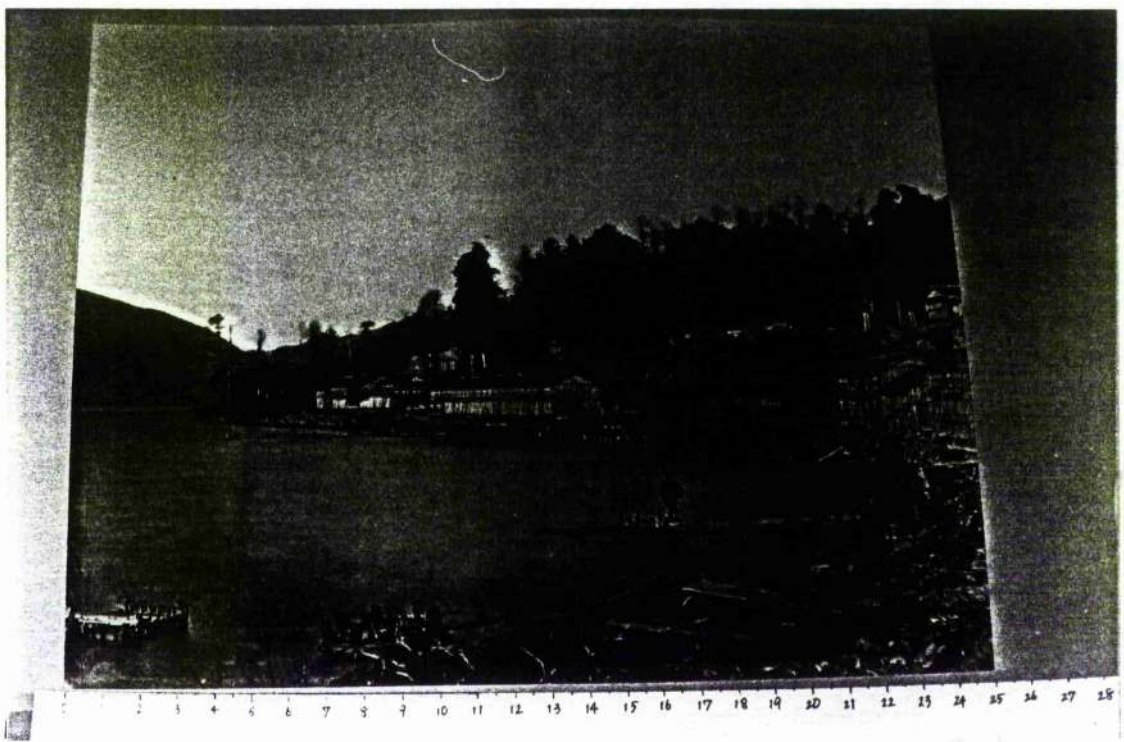


Plate. 107. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of River with Man Standing on the Edge of a Wooden Pier*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 108. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

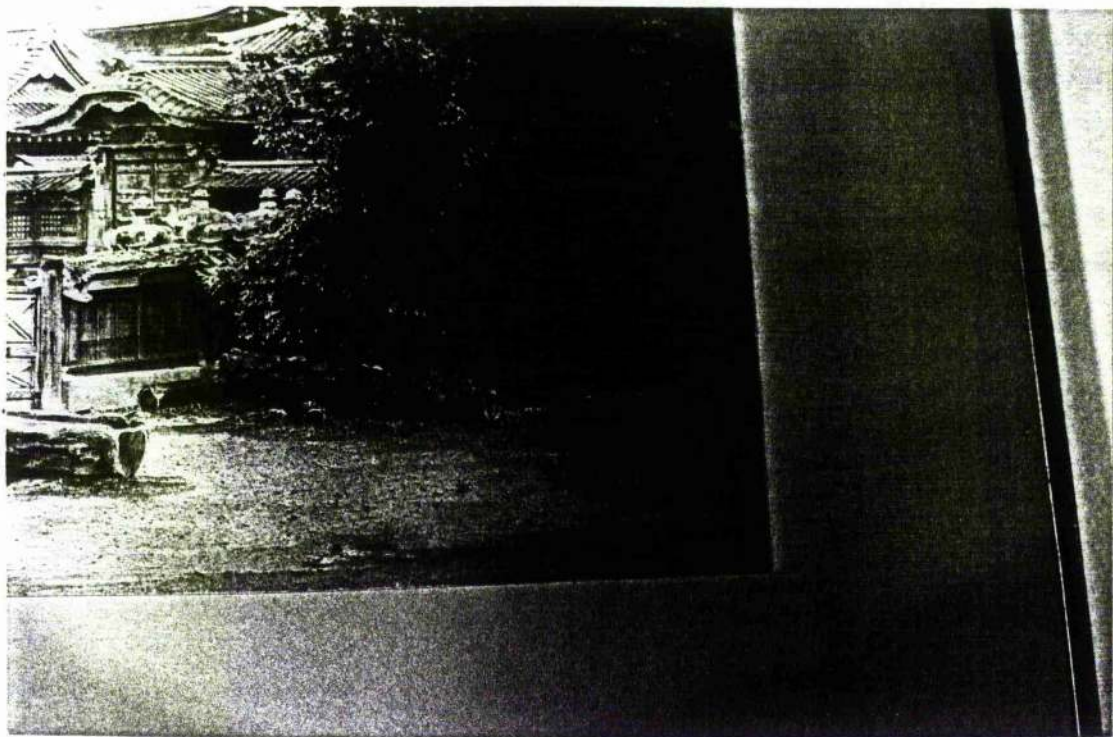


Plate. 108a. Detail of Plate. 108.



Plate. 109. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz[?], *[Gate of the Tokugawa Family Cemetery-Yushoin-den]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 110. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Women Drinking Sake in a Japanese Garden]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 111. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Six Women, One of Them Dressed as a Man]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 112. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Kabuki Actor]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 113. Shuzaburo Usui, [Carpenter], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 112 & 113a. Original layout of Plate. 112 and 113.

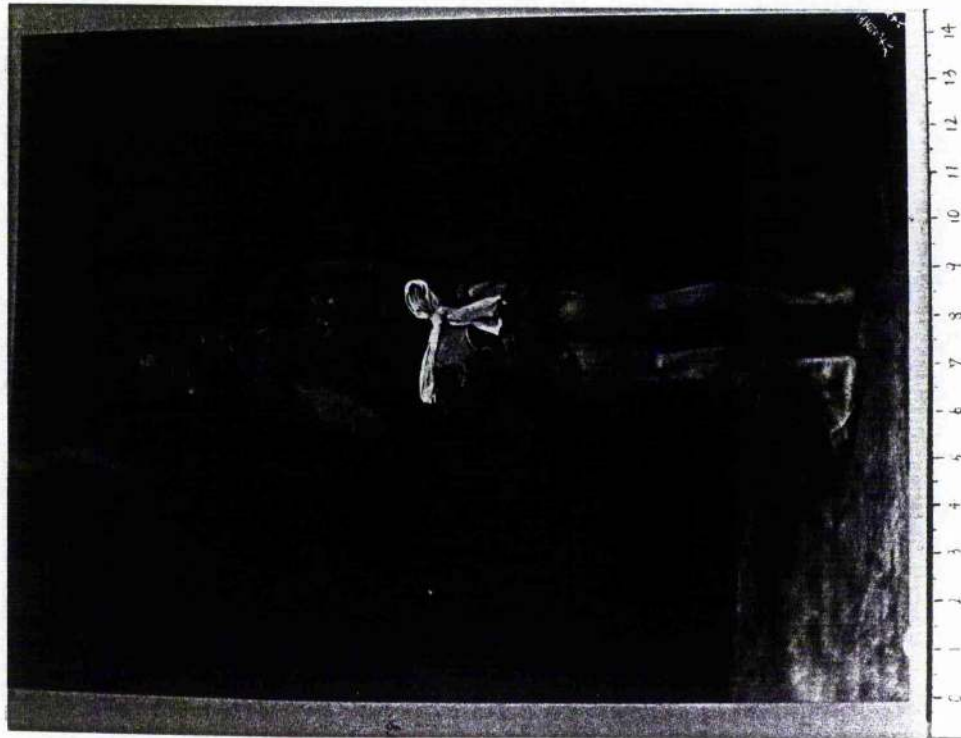


Plate. 114. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Man with Tattooed Back with Cloth over His Arm*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

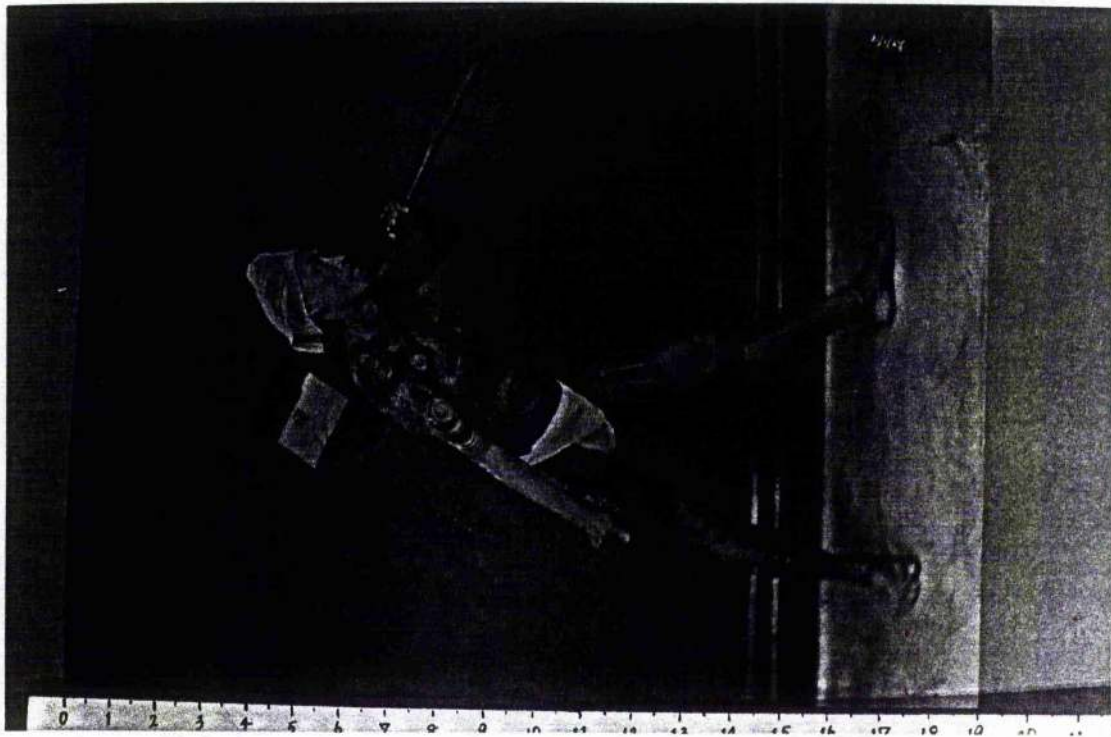


Plate. 115. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Mail Delivery Man Posing with Delivery Box and Showing His Tattooed Body*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

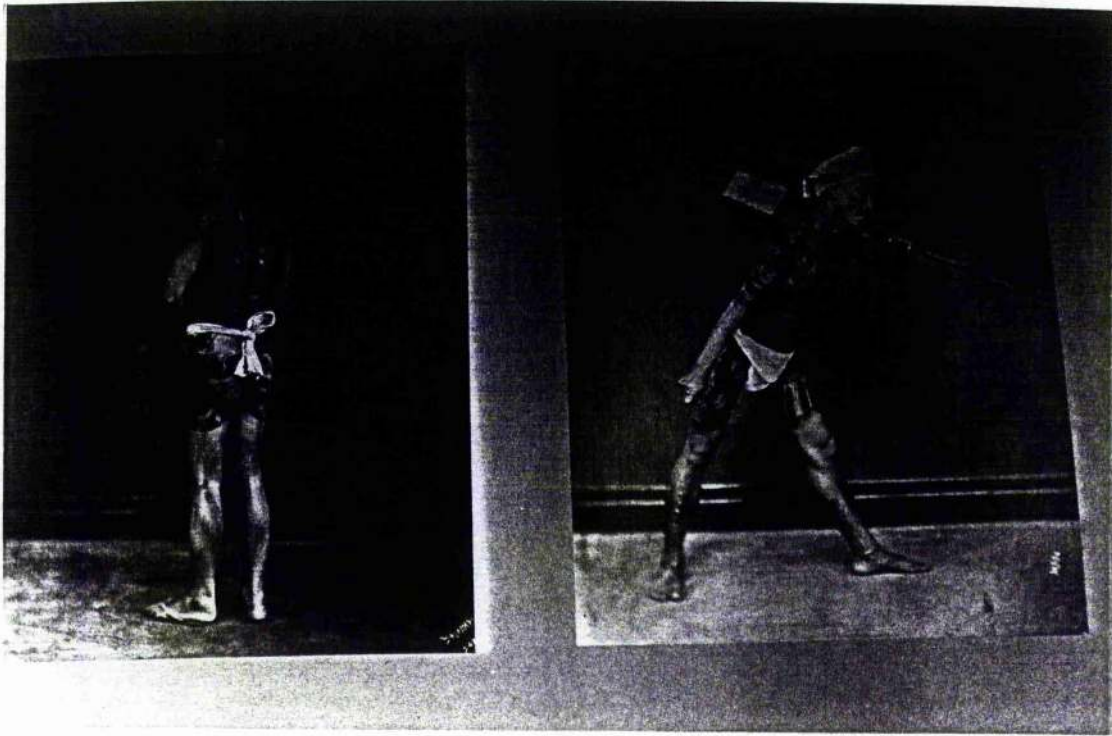


Plate. 114 & 115a. Original layout of Plate. 114 and 115.



Plate. 116. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Woman Standing in Zashiki, Setting]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

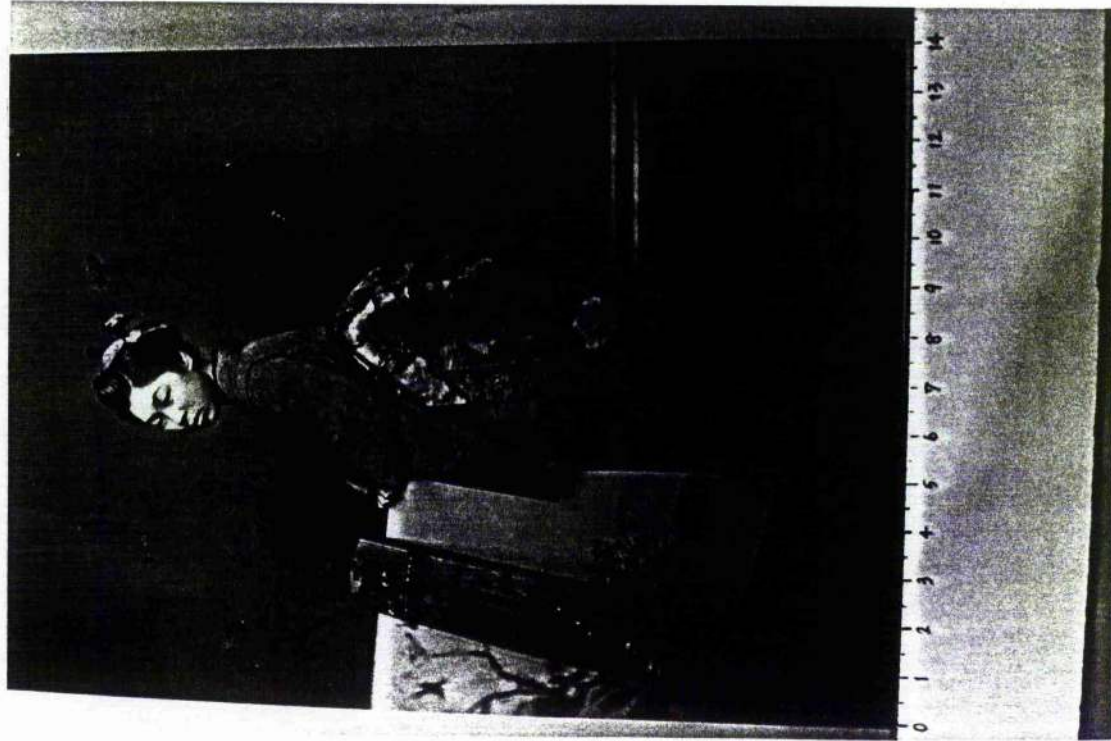


Plate. 117. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Girl Posing with Musical Instrument-Koto]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 118. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Girl Buying Flowers from a Flower Seller in Studio]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 119. Shuzaburo Usui,
*[Two Onna-dayu (Female Street
 Musician) Playing Shamisen in
 Studio]*, albumen tinted print, 1870
 Andrew Carnegie Birthplace
 Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 118 & 119a. Original layout of Plate. 118 and 119.



Plate. 120. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Geta Cobbler in Studio*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 121. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Semi-nude Woman Holding Sake & Sakazuki*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 122. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Women Standing with Interlinked Hands]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 121 & 122a. Original layout of Plate. 121 and 122.

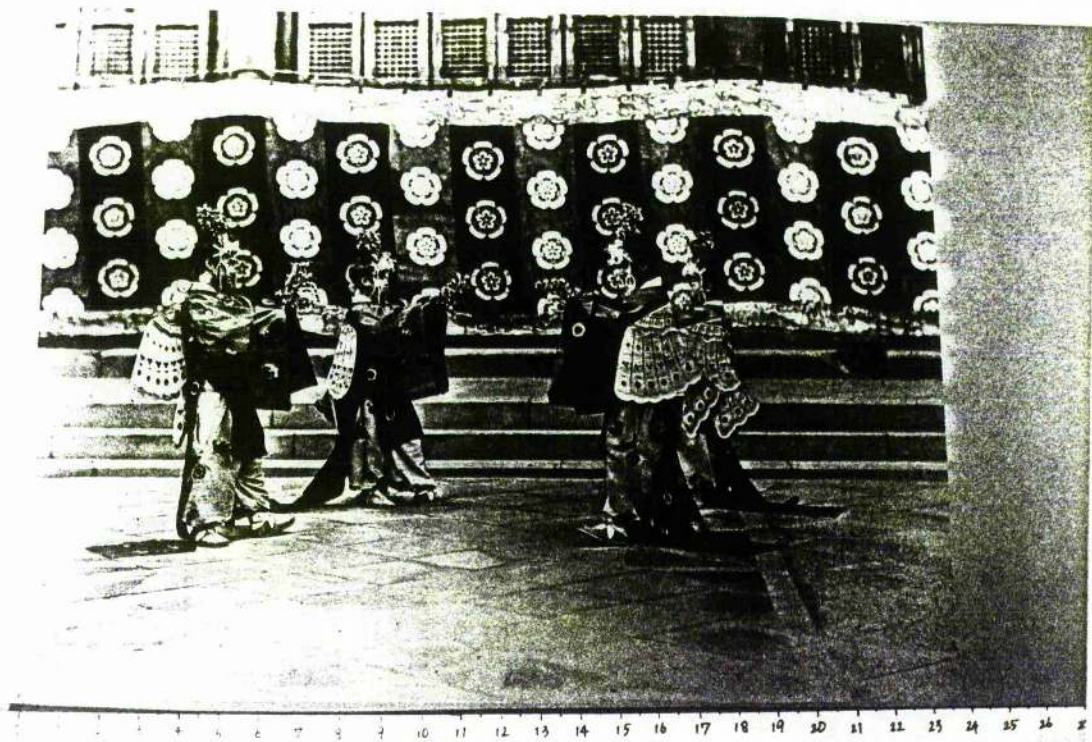


Plate. 123. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Four Gagaku Dancing (Traditional Shinto Dancers)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

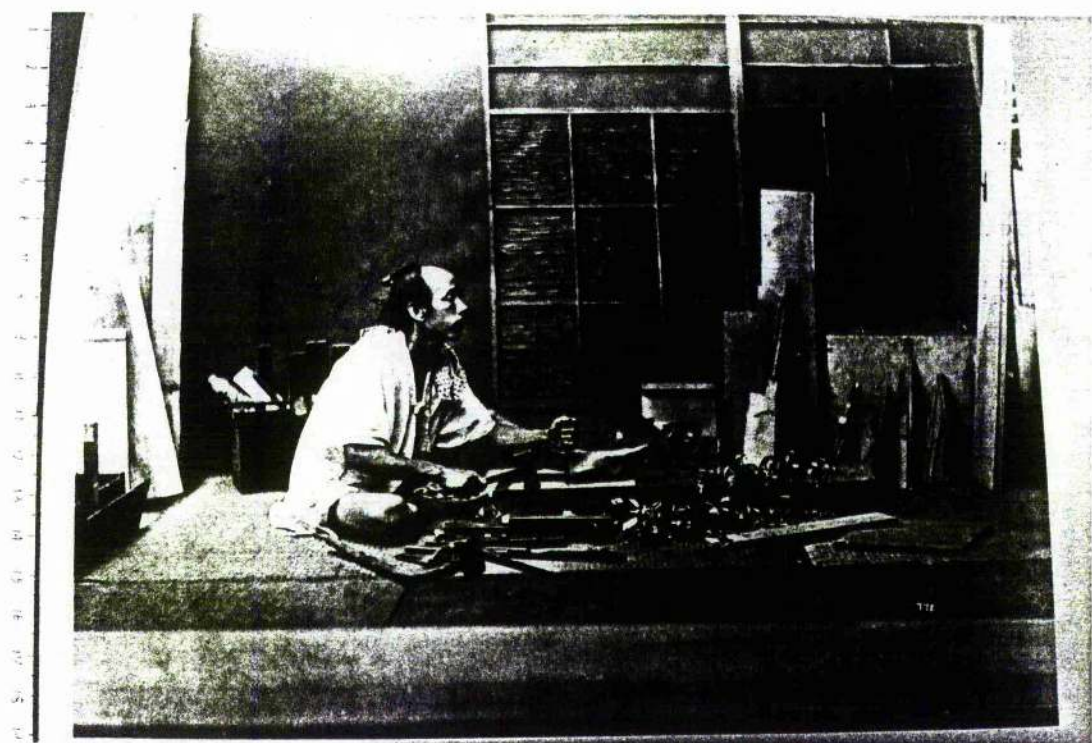


Plate. 124. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Sahimono-shi (Carpenter) at Work*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

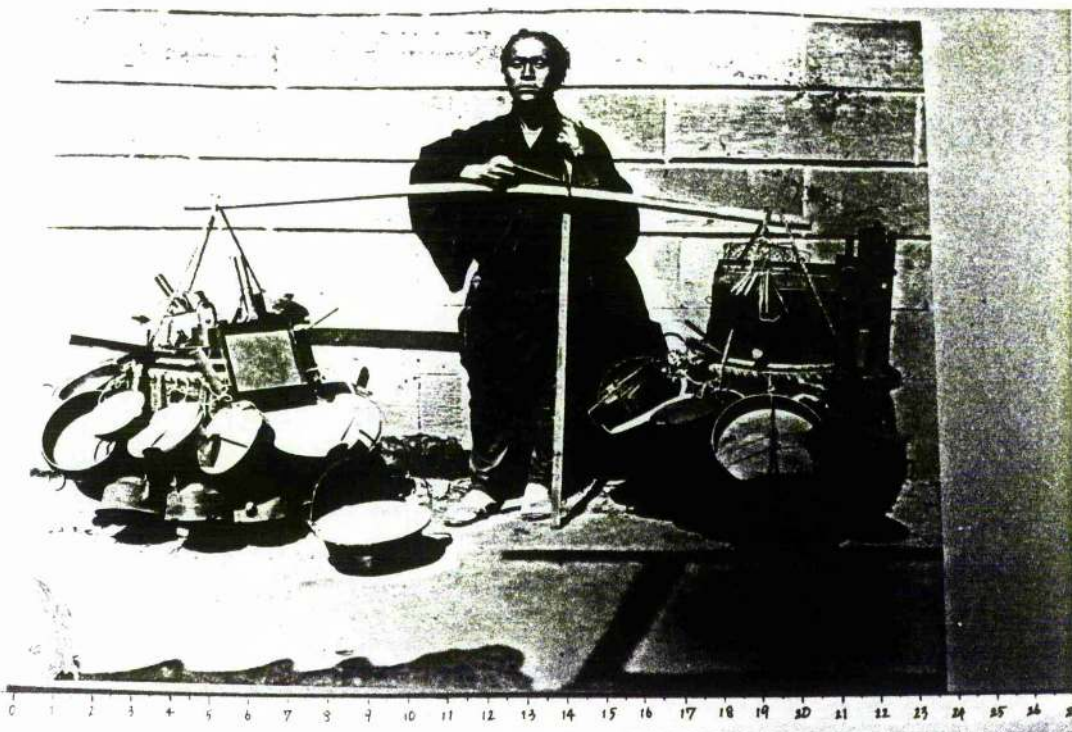


Plate. 125. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), *[Kanamono-ya (Traveling Tinker) with His Wares]*, albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 126. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Threshing Rice in the Countryside]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

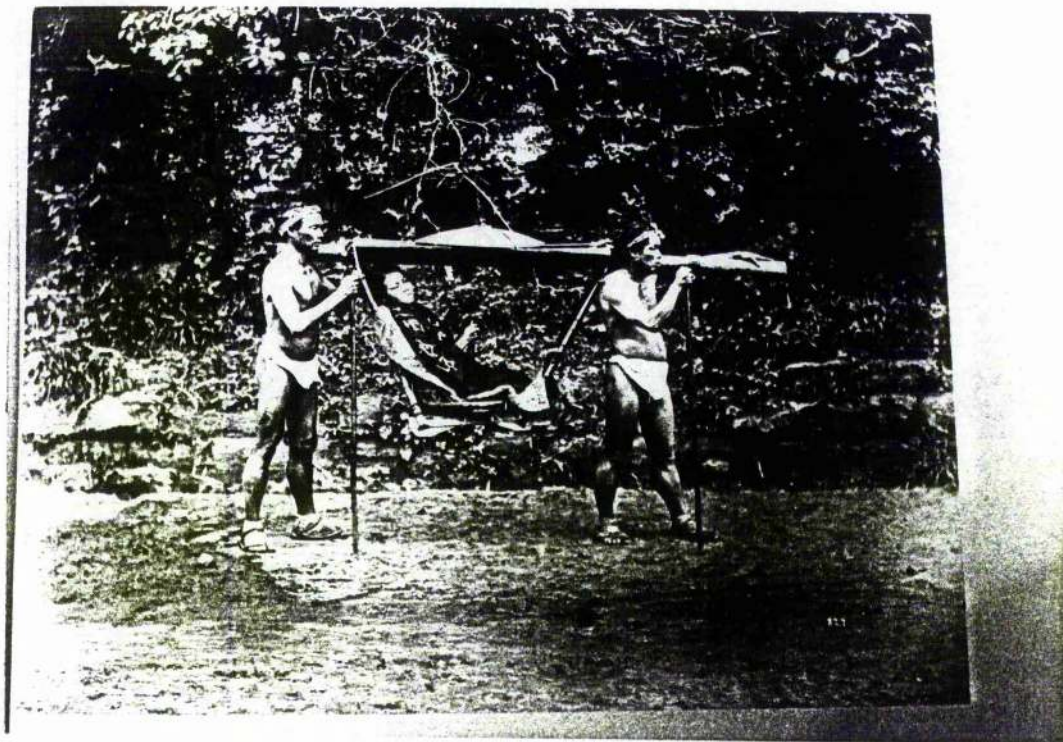


Plate. 127. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Two Kagokakis (Sedan Chair Carriers) with a Girl Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

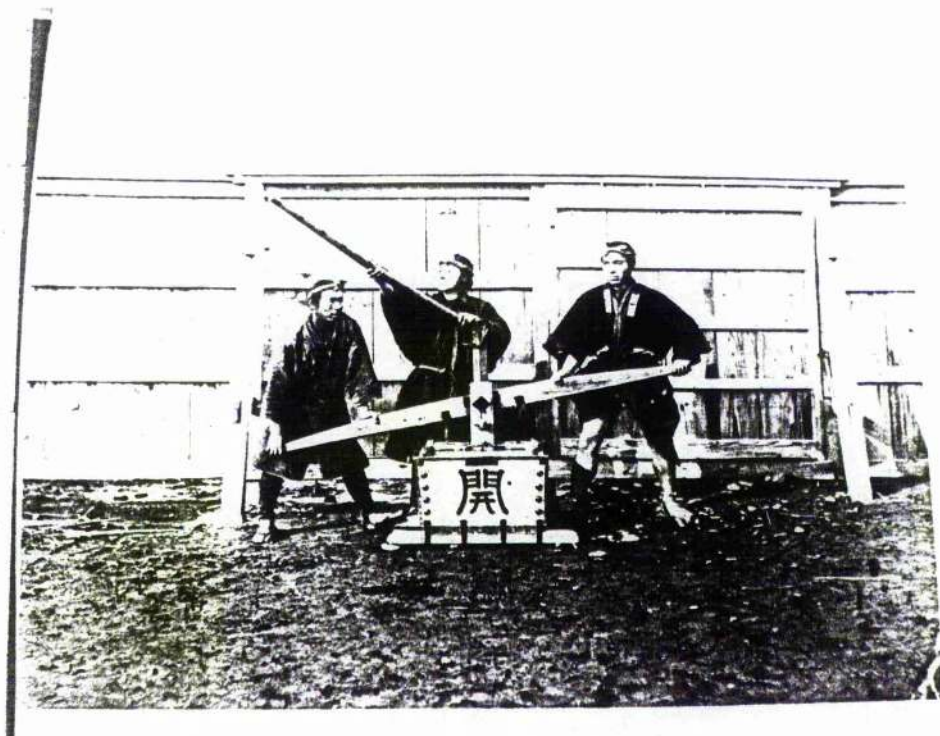


Plate. 128. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Three Firemen Demonstrating Pump and Hose*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

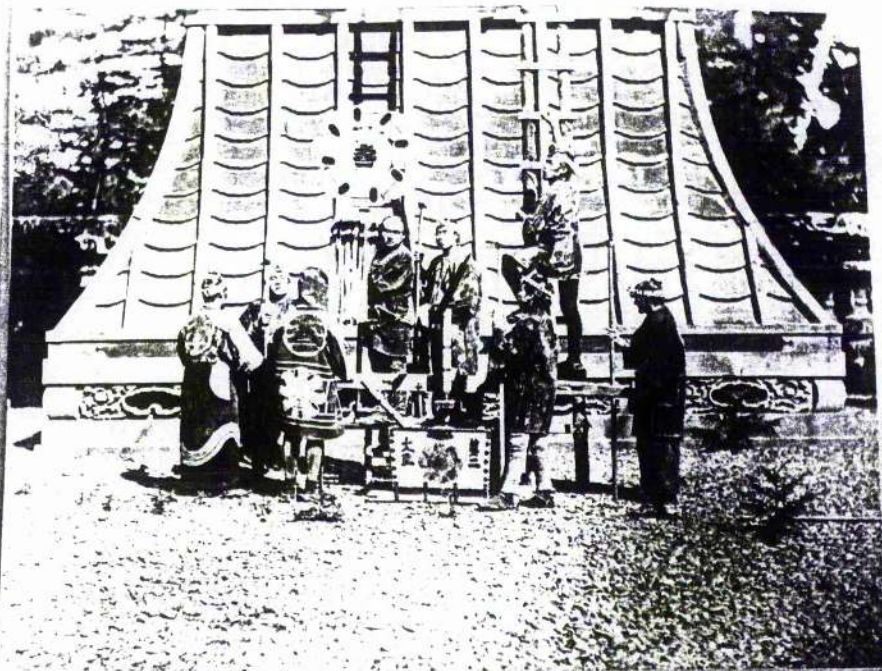


Plate. 129. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Group of Firemen Showing Their Uniforms and Equipment]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 130. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Women, One Using an Abacus in Zashiki]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

ILLUSTRATIONS II : PLATES

VOL. II

*EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF JAPAN
IN
SCOTTISH COLLECTIONS*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY
IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN MUSEUM AND GALLERY STUDIES

BY
HANAKO MURATA

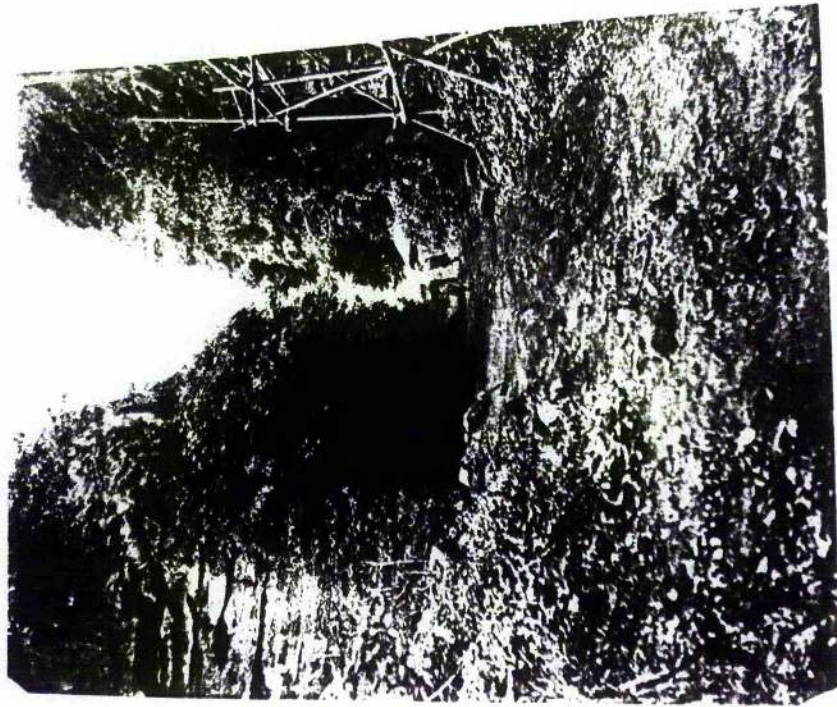


Plate. 131 Shuzaburo Usui, [*Asahinabe-dori*
(*Travellers Road*) in *Kamakura*], albumen tinted
print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.

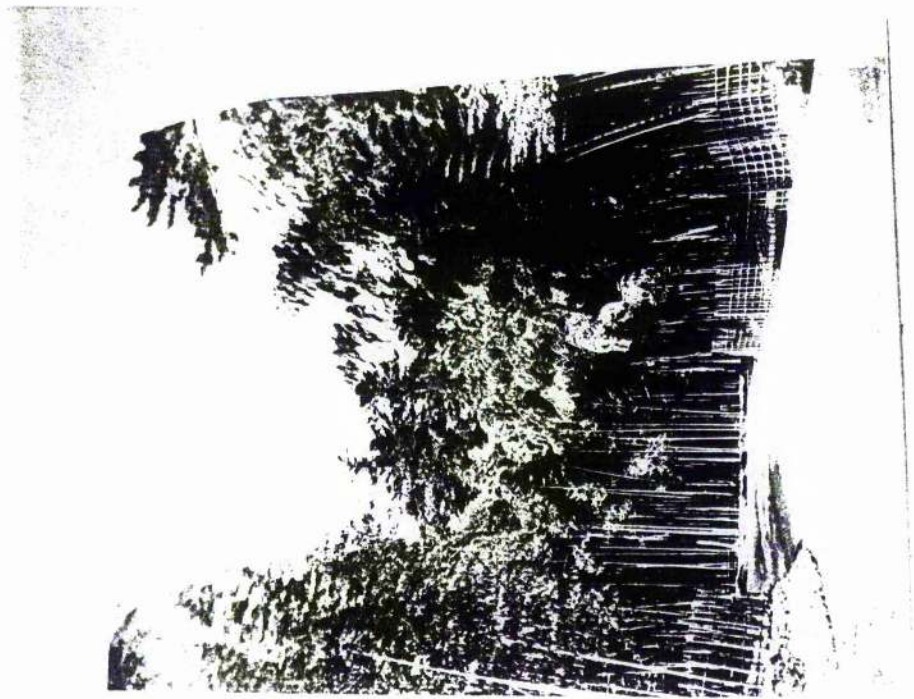


Plate. 132. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Koukyo-Fukiage-Gosho*
(*Royal Families Estate*)], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum,
Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 133. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Traveller on the Banks of a River under a Wooden Bridge]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

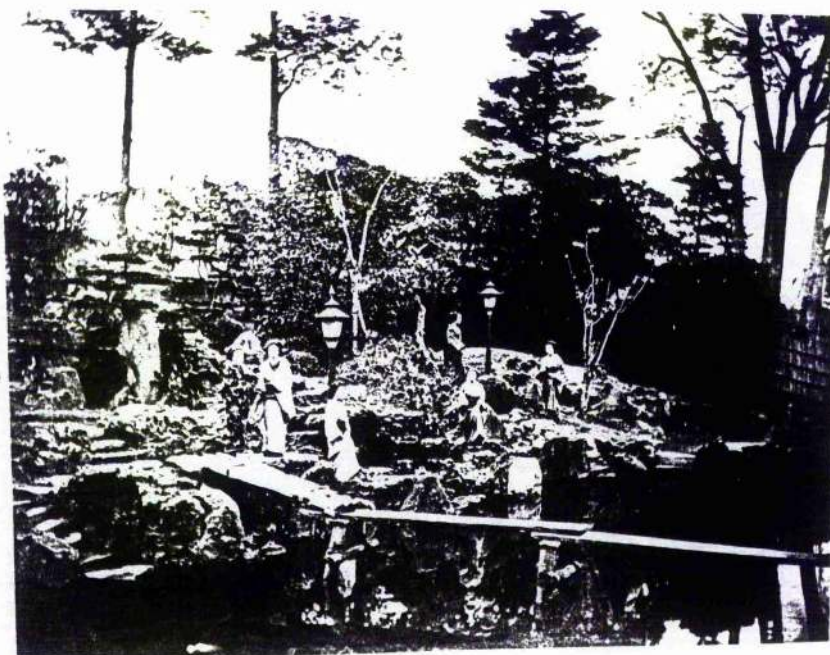


Plate. 134. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Six Women in the Garden of Ogiya (Teahouse) in Oji]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 135. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Tsuruoka-hachimangu, Temple in Kamakura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

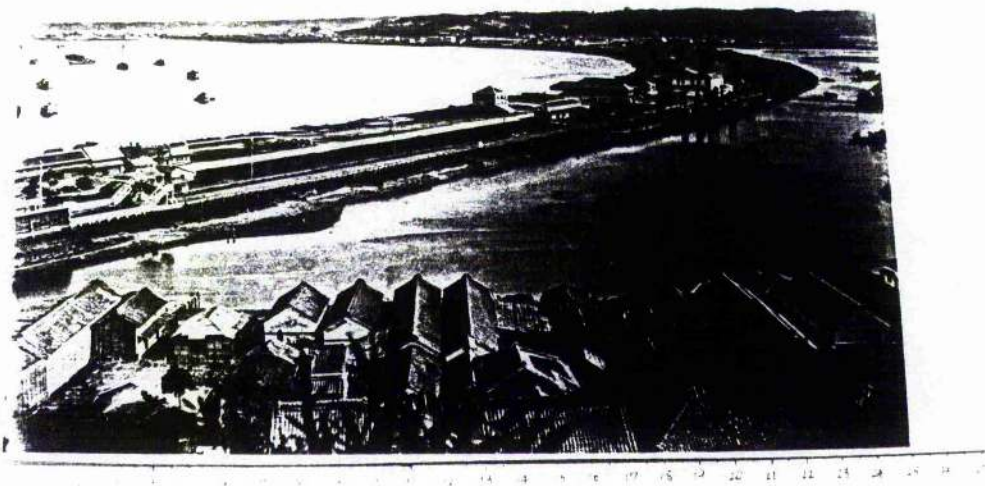


Plate. 136. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of the Railway and the Sea at Takashima-cho in Yokohama (from Mt. Takashima)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

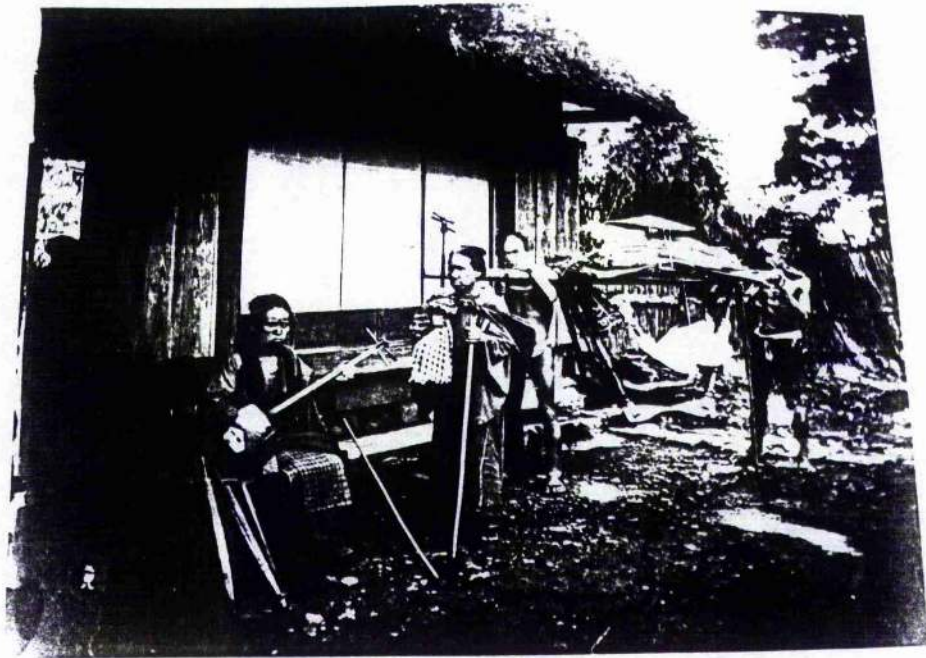


Plate. 137. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Hikigatari (Travelling Musicians, Blind) with Two Momen and Two Kagokaki and Their Male Customer Outside a House*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 138. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Water Fall*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

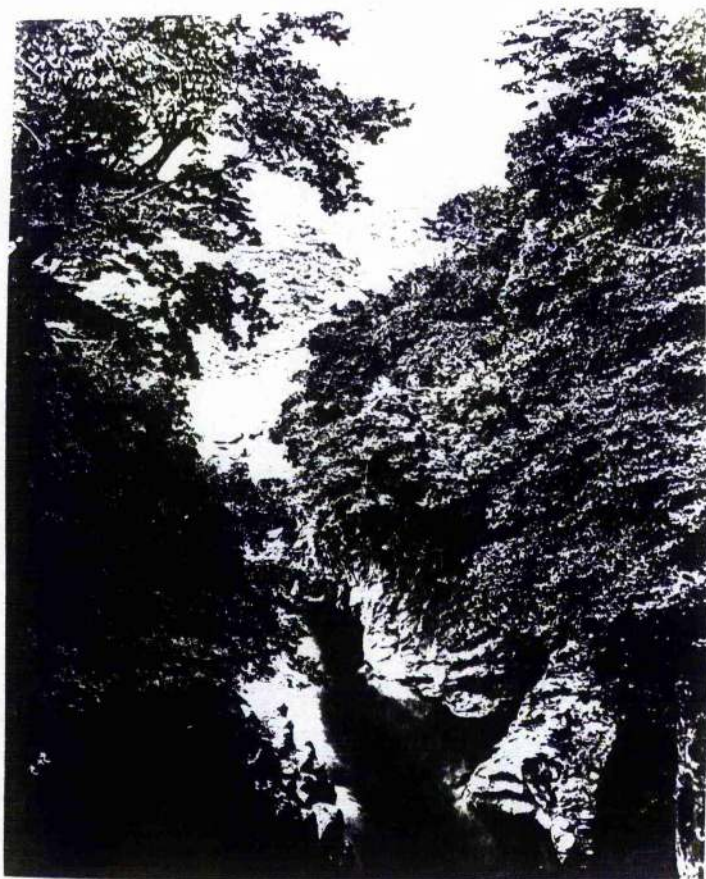


Plate. 139. Shuzaburo Usui, *[View Down a Valley]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 140. Anonymous photographer, *[Toshogu Yomeimon Gate (from Inside the Temple) in Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 141. Anonymous photographer, [*Kabuki Theatre, Shintomi-za, at Shintomi-cho, Nippon-bashi, Ginza in Tokyo*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

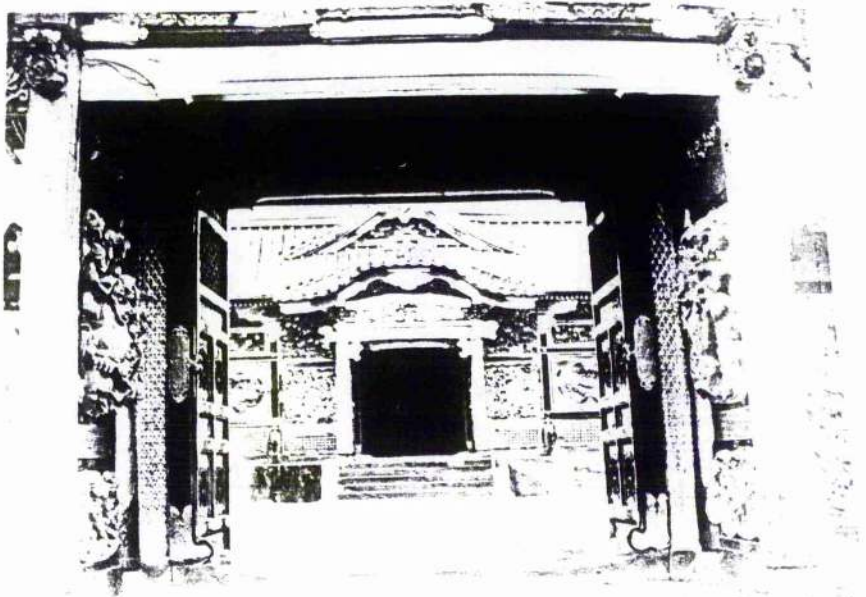


Plate. 142. Anonymous photographer, [*Shiba Sojoji Temple in Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1871. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

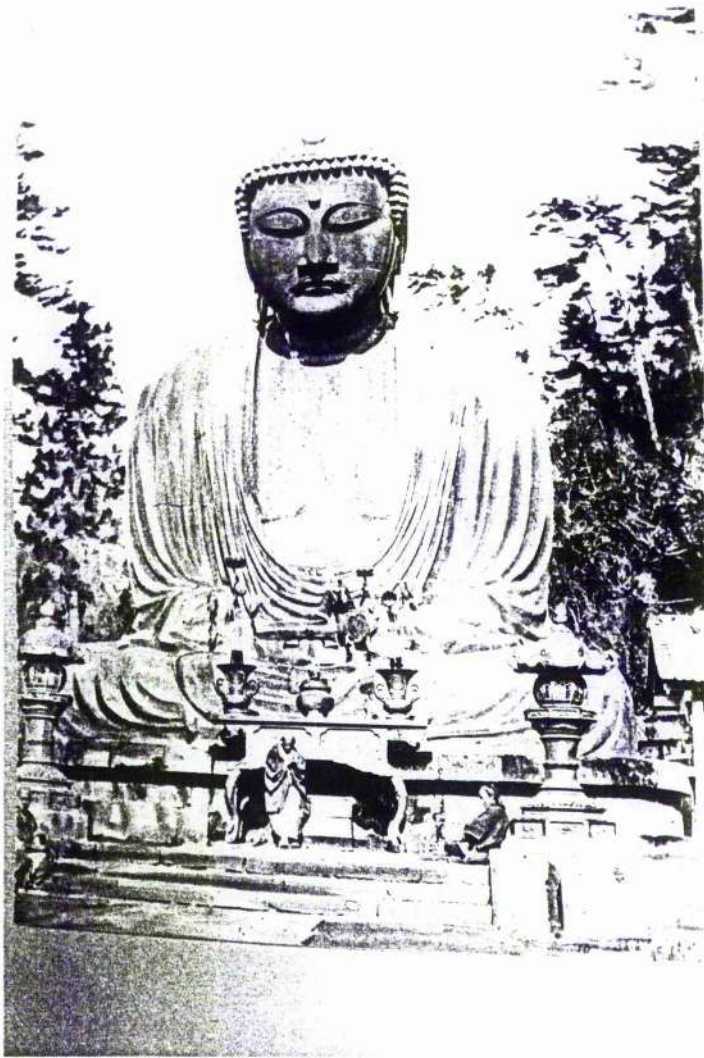


Plate. 143. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Statue of Buddha at Kamakura]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 144. Shuzaburo Usui, *[View of a River with Wooden Bridge, House and Travellers]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

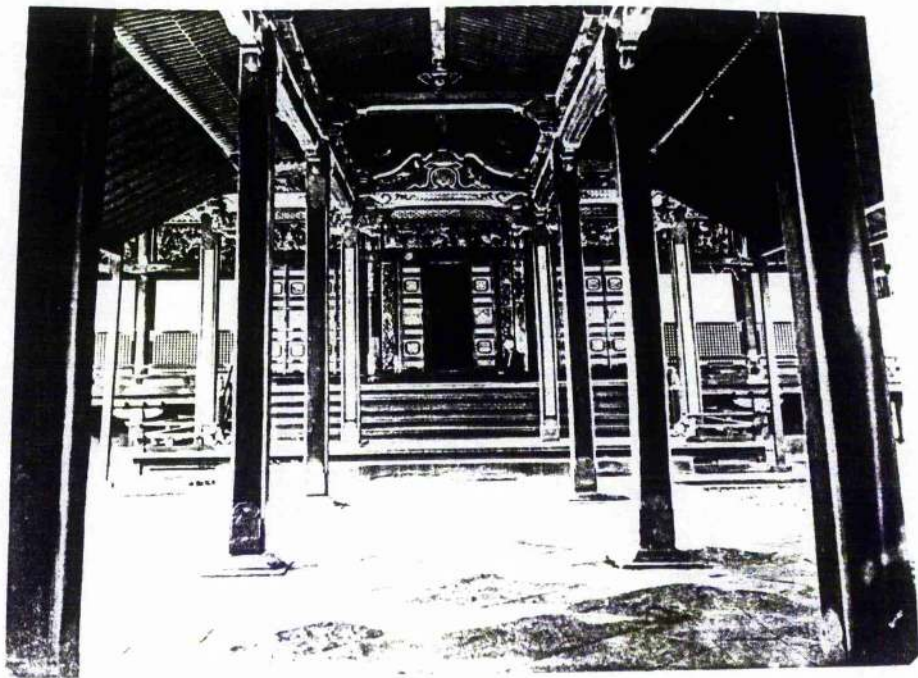


Plate. 145. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shiba Sojoji Temple in Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

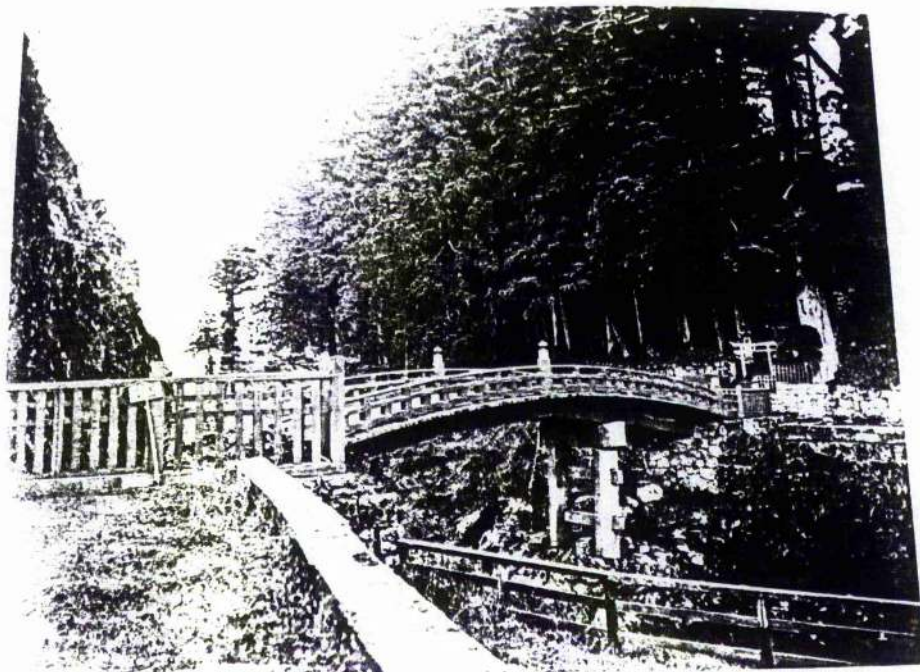


Plate. 146. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Mihashi (Sacred Shinto Bridge) at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 147. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Mt. Fuji from Tago-no-ura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 148. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Miyakara Shore from the Honmaki Shrine Gate*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

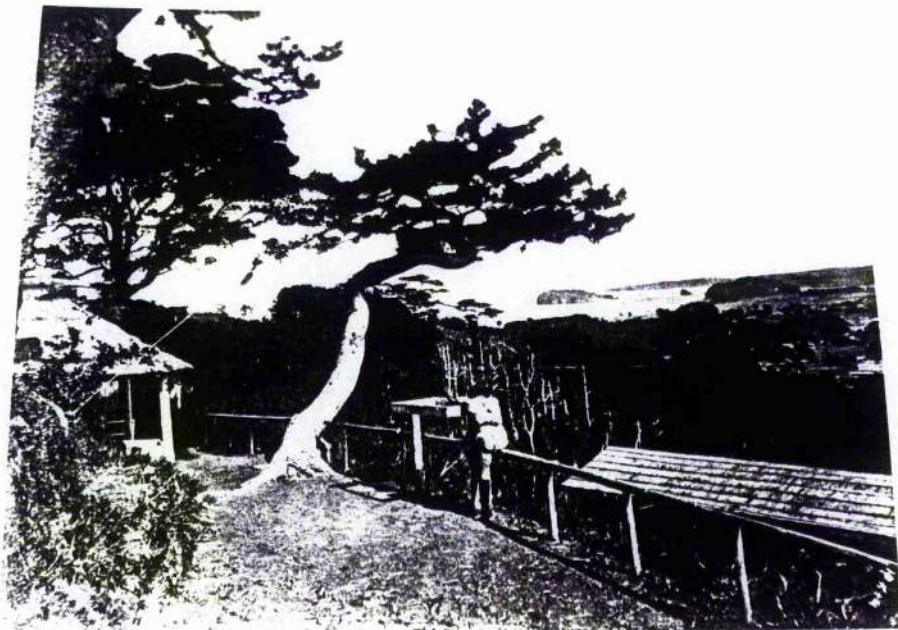


Plate. 149. Shuzaburo Usui, *[View from a Hill with Man in Foreground]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

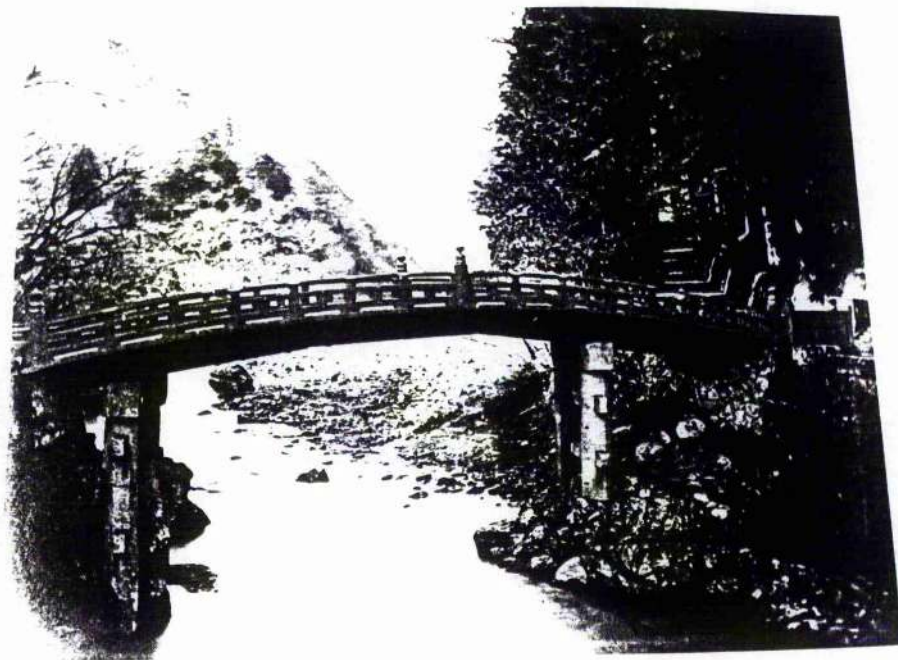


Plate. 150. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Mihashi (Sacred Shinto Bridge) at Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 151. Shuzaburo Usui, *[View of a Rickshaw Entering a Village]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

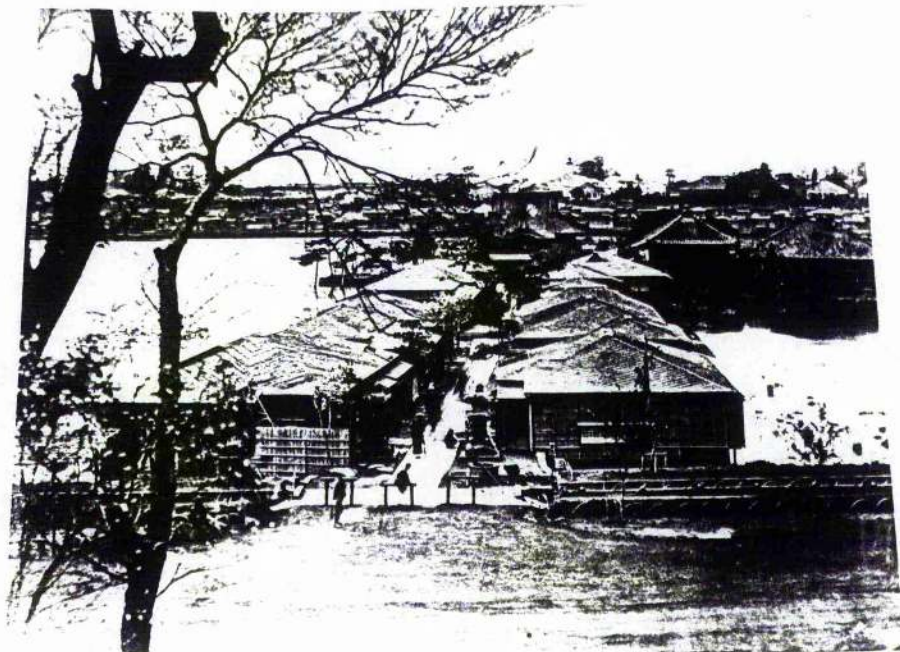


Plate. 152. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Benten-sha Temple on Nakajima at Shinobazu Pond, Ueno in Tokyo]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

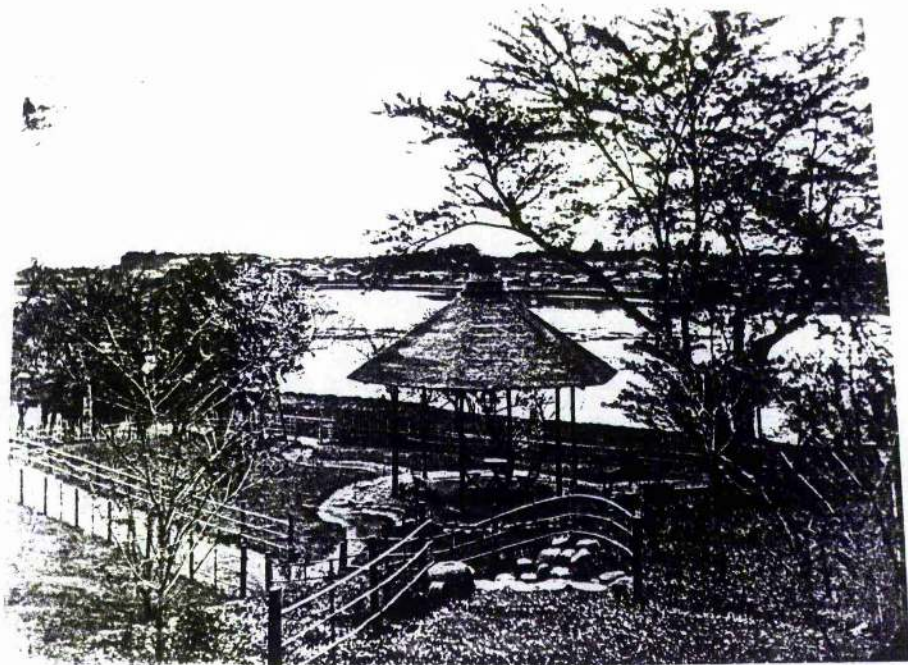


Plate. 153. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Yamate Park in Yokohama ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

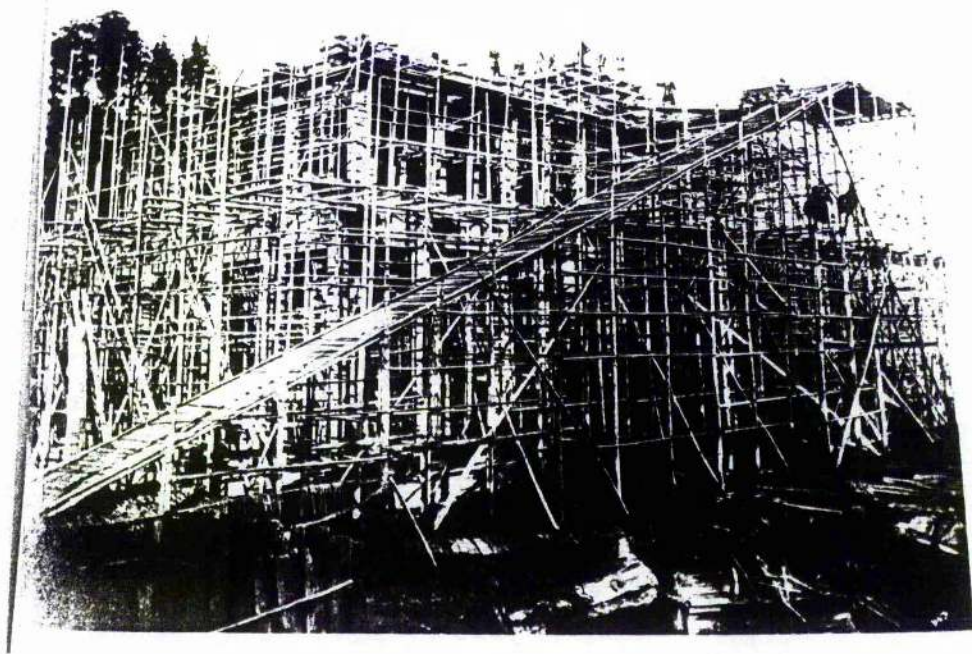


Plate. 154. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Bamboo Scaffolding for Building Construction*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

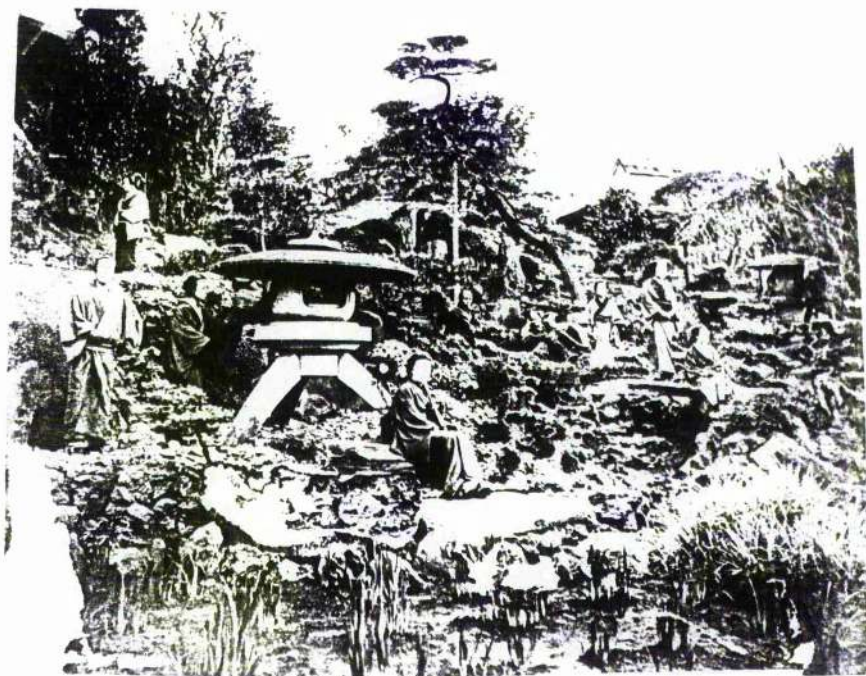


Plate. 155. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Group Sitting in Japanese Garden*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 156. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Ogiya (Teahouse) in Oji*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 157. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Toshogu Yomeimon Gate at Nikko Viewed from inside Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

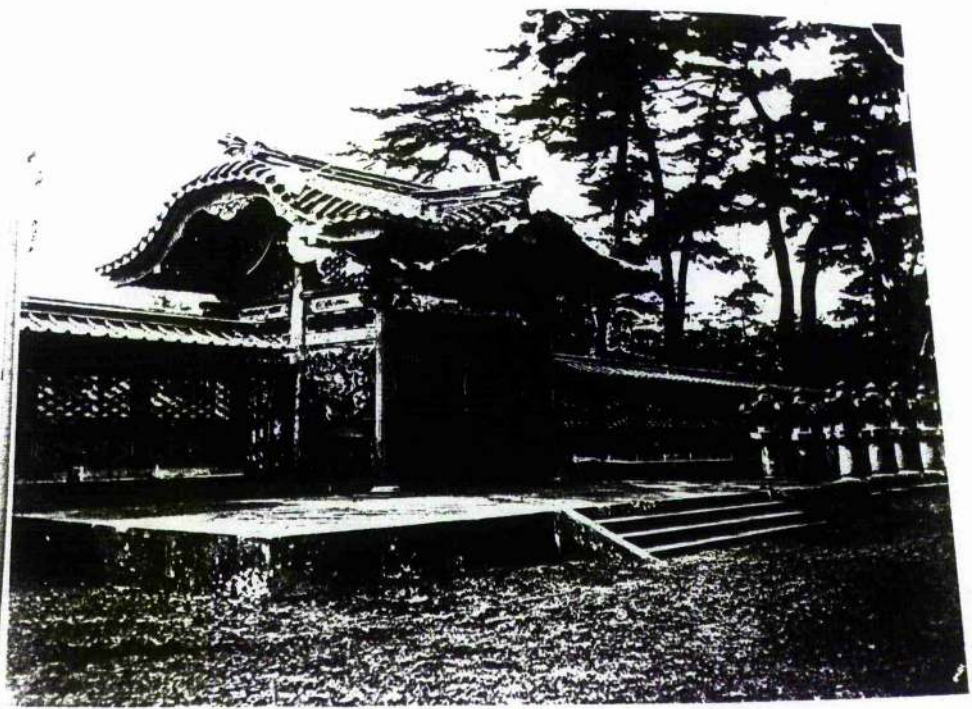


Plate. 158. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Gate of Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

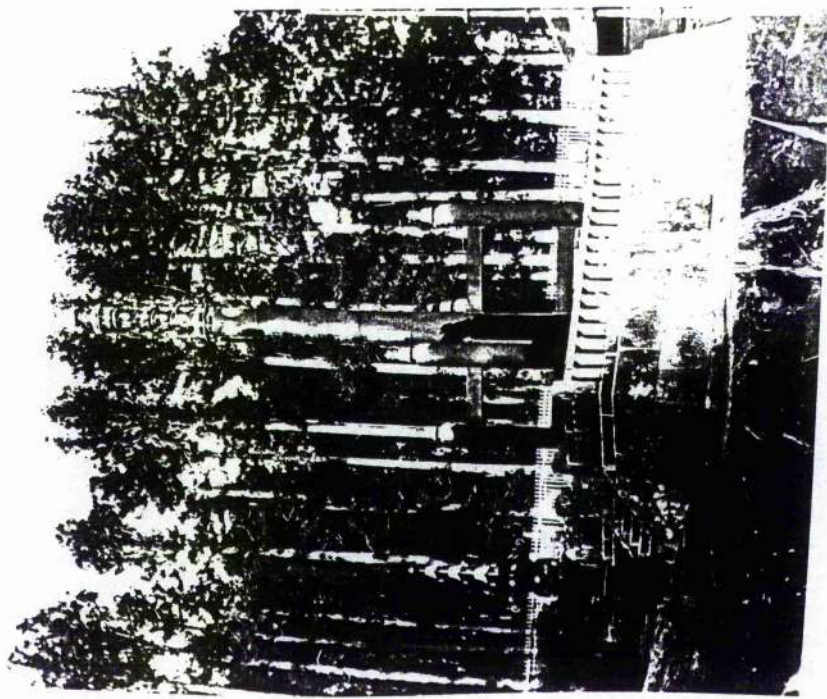


Plate. 159. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Memorial to the Tokugawa Family*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

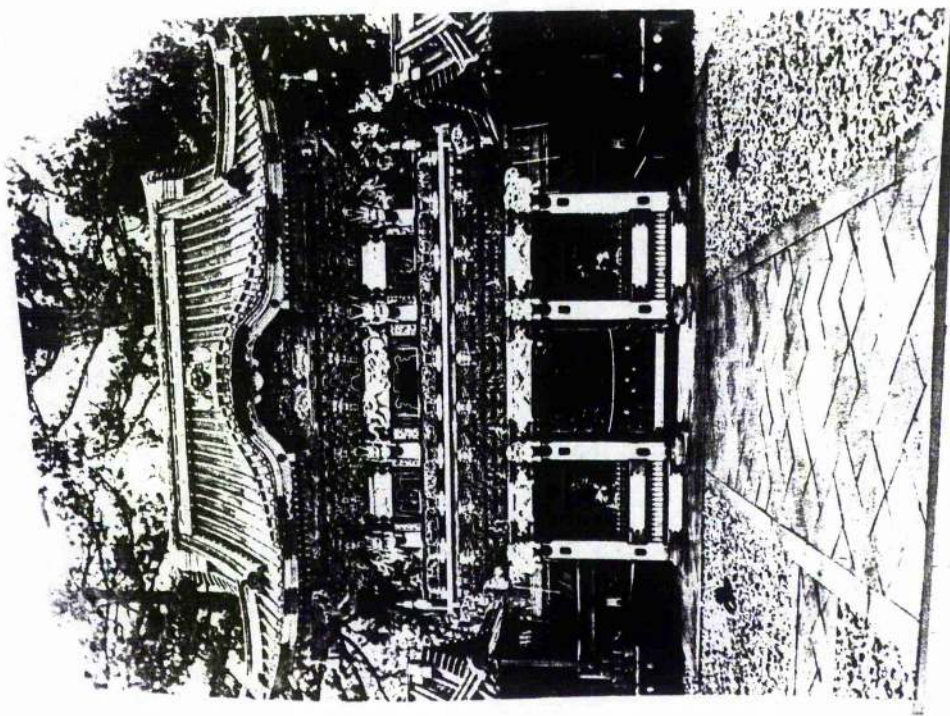


Plate. 160. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Toshogu Yomeimon Gate at Nikko Viewed from inside Temple*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

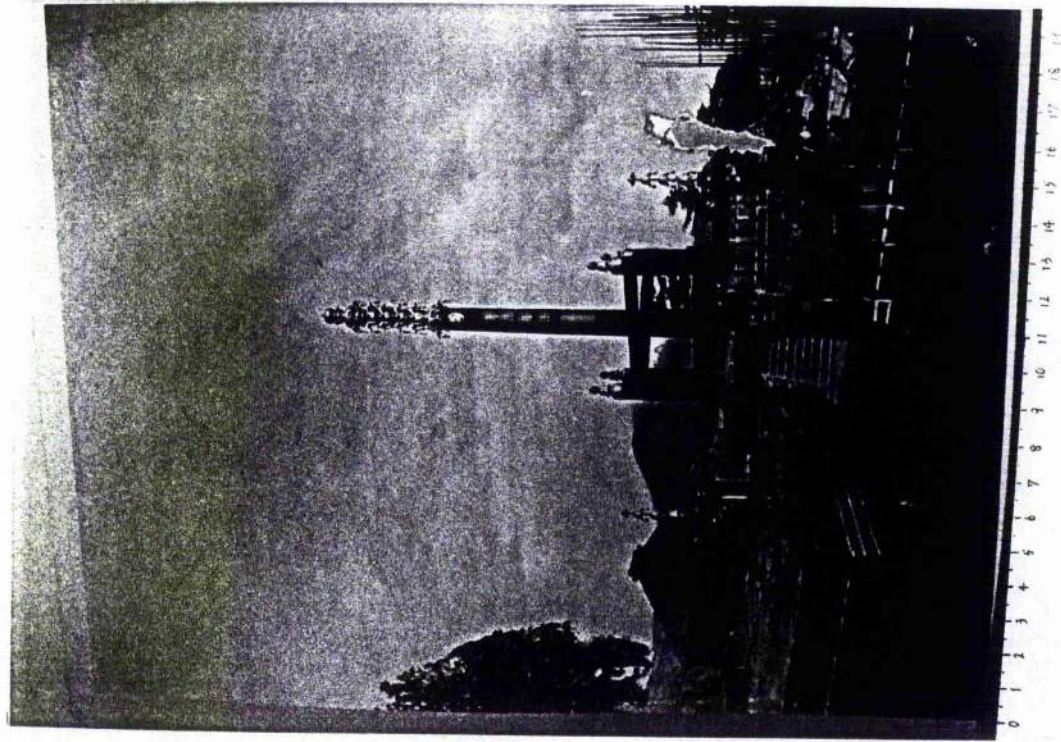


Plate 161. Shuzaburo Usui, *Memorial to the Tokugawa Family*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

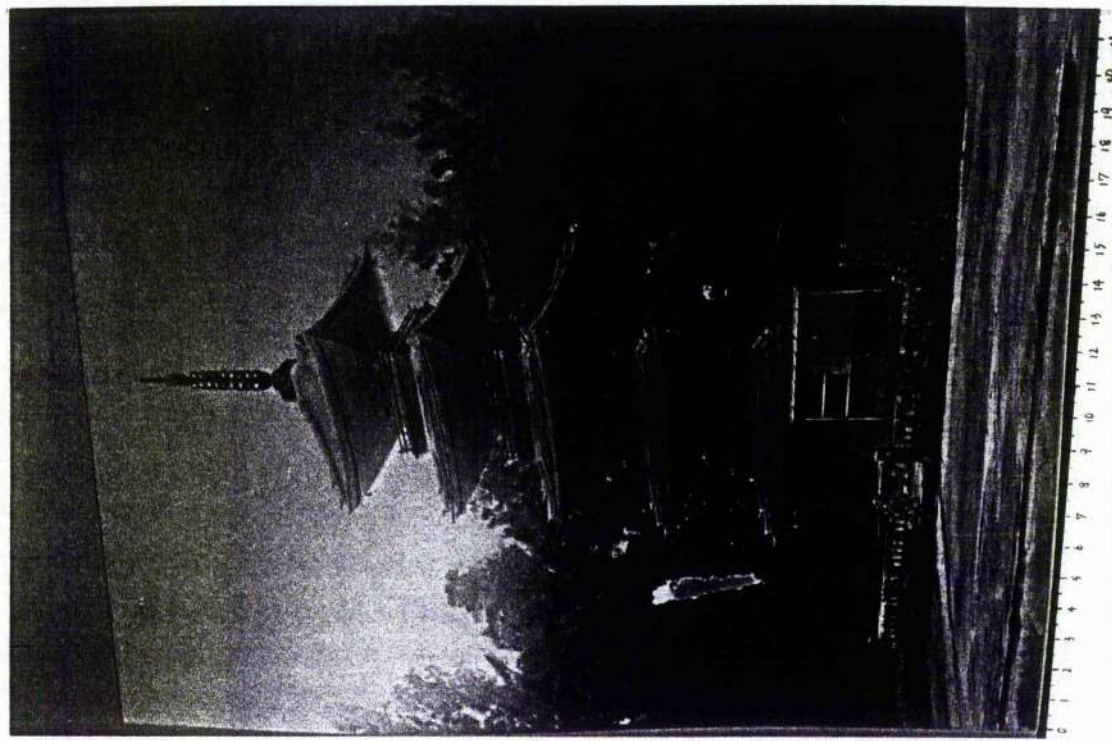


Plate 162. Shuzaburo Usui, *Five Storeyed Pagoda at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

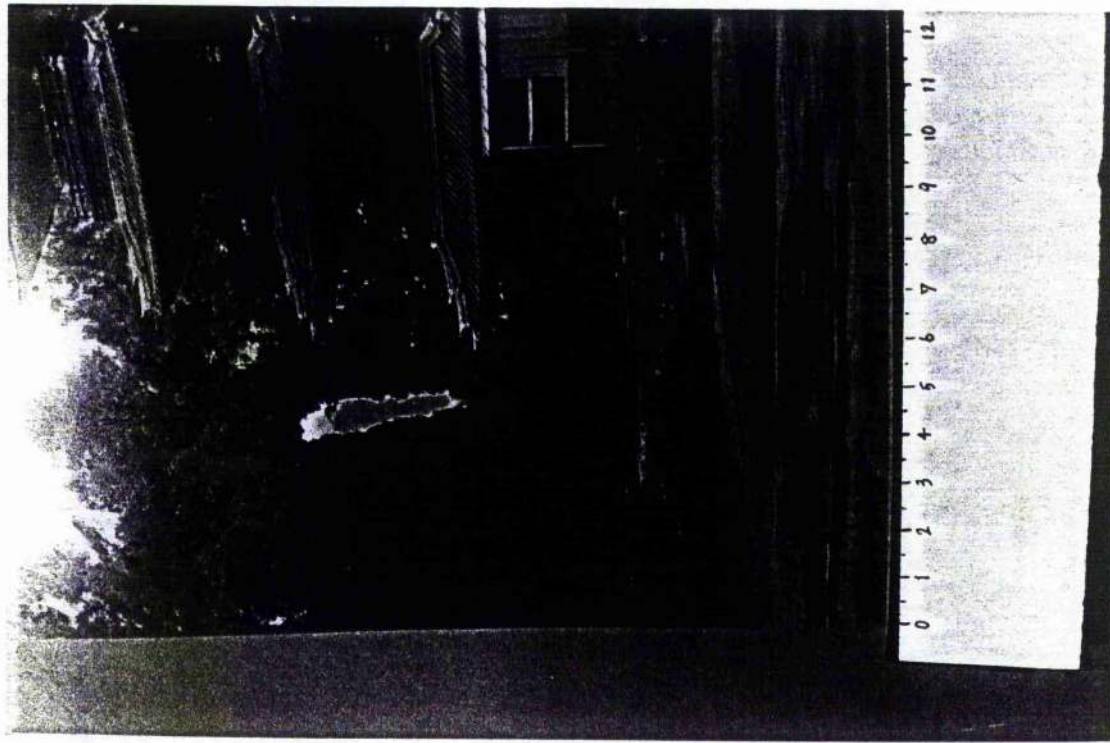


Plate. 162a. Detail of Plate. 162.

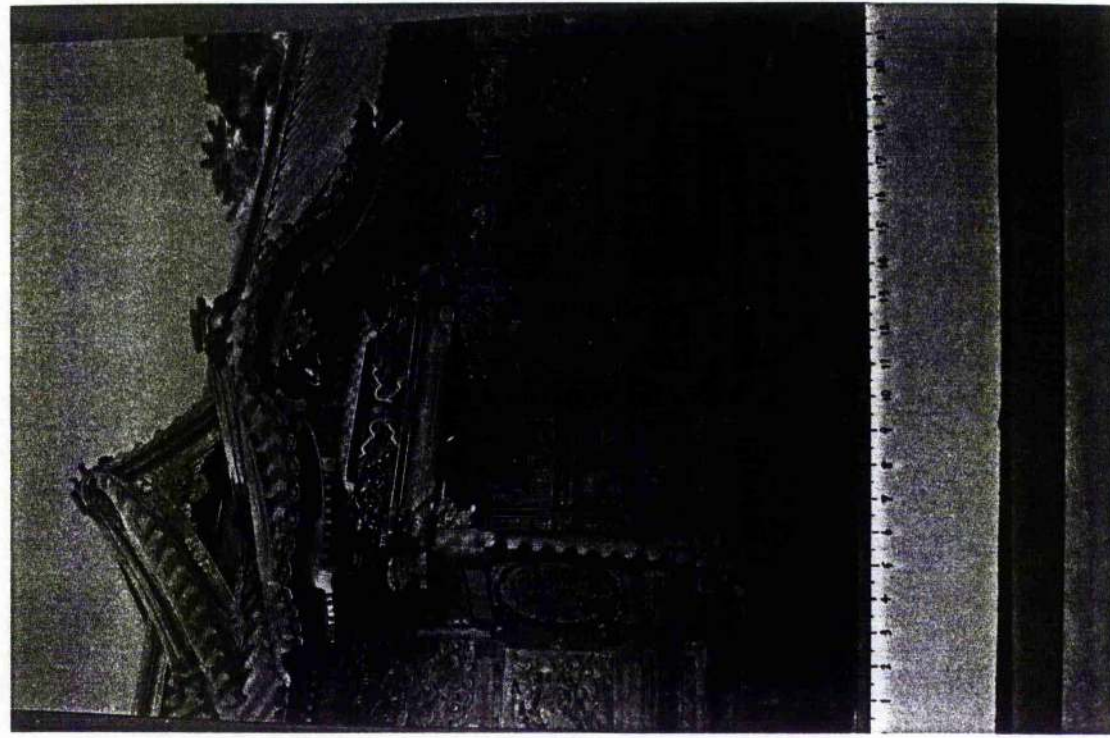


Plate. 163. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Gate at Shiba*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 164. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Dainichi-do and Garden*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 165. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Five Storeyed Pagoda at Nikko ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 166. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Unknown Temple Precincts]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 167. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Hozo-mon Gate and Five Storeyed Pagoda In Sensoji Temple in Asakusa]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 168. Shuzaburo Usui, [*The Kara-mon Gate and Haiden (Inner Temple Building) at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 169. Shuzaburo Usui, [*View of Mt. Fuji*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

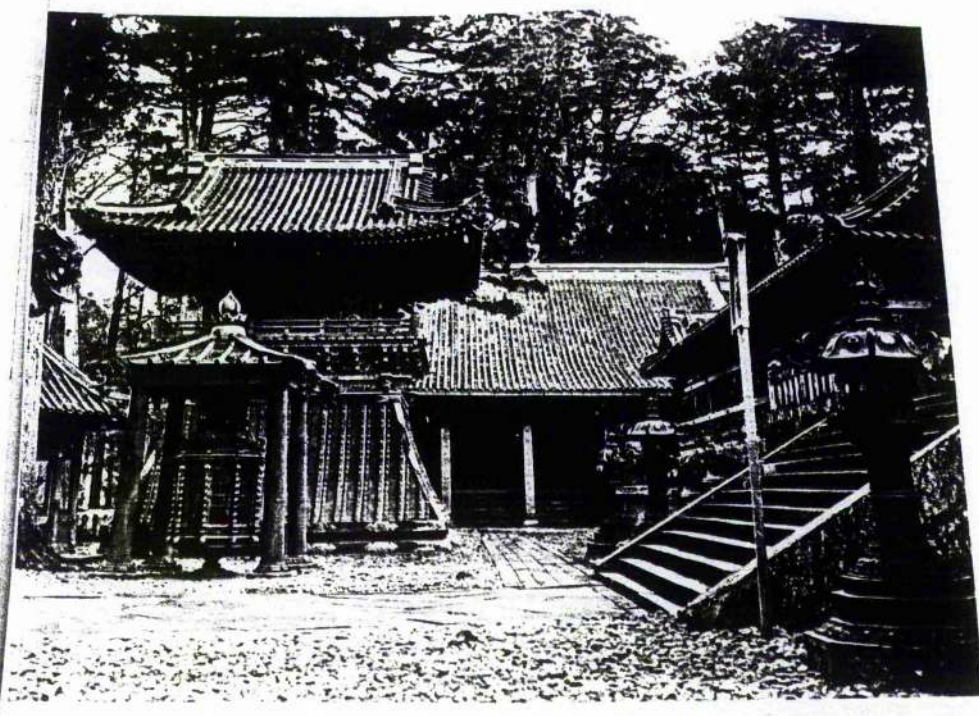


Plate. 170. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Rinzo (Temple Building), Koro (Large Copper Bell), Yomei-mon Gate and Joshinko (Ceremonial Store) around Ni-no-Torii at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

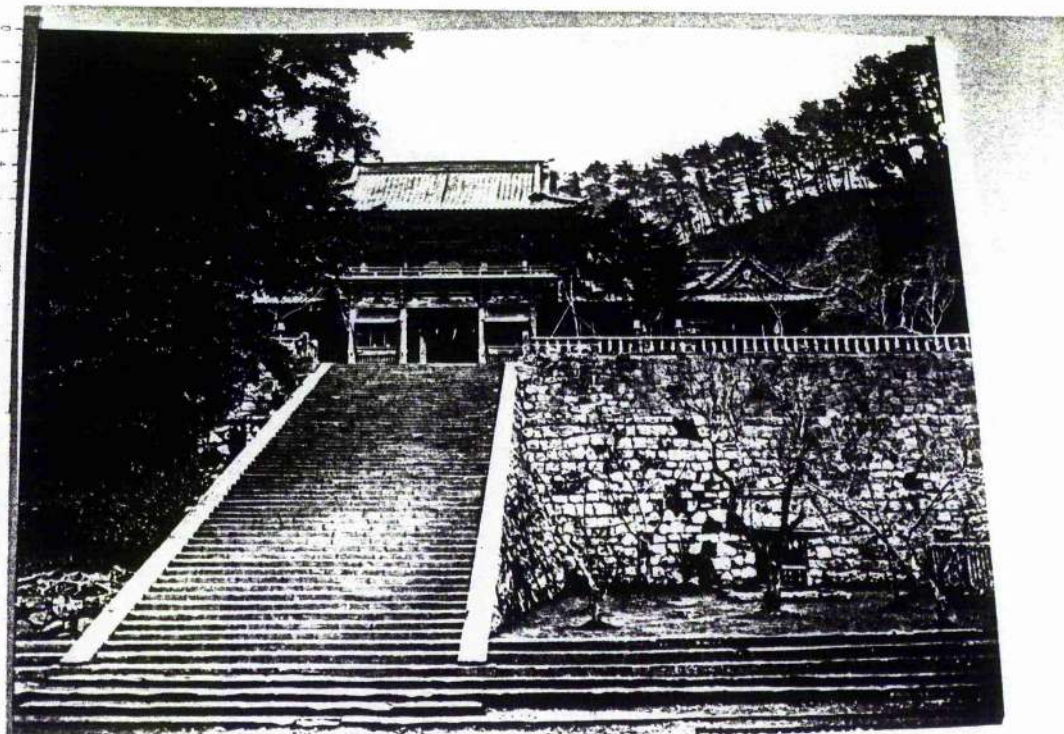


Plate. 171. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu Shrine at Kamakura*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

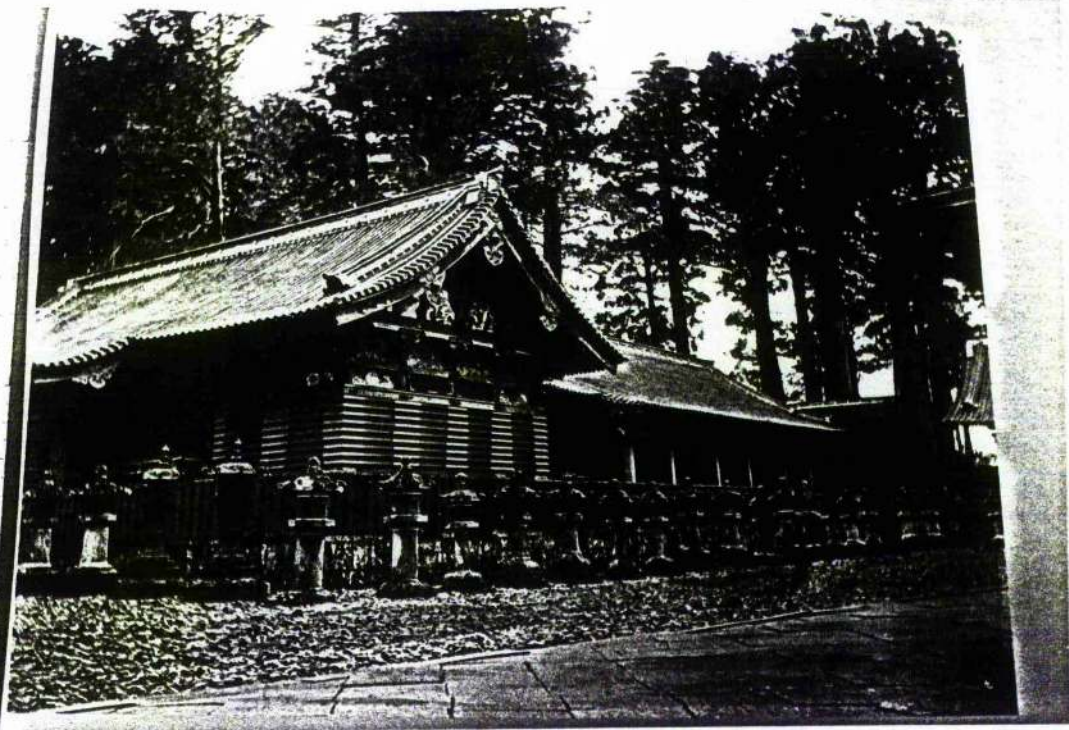


Plate. 172. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Joshinko around Ni-no-Torii at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

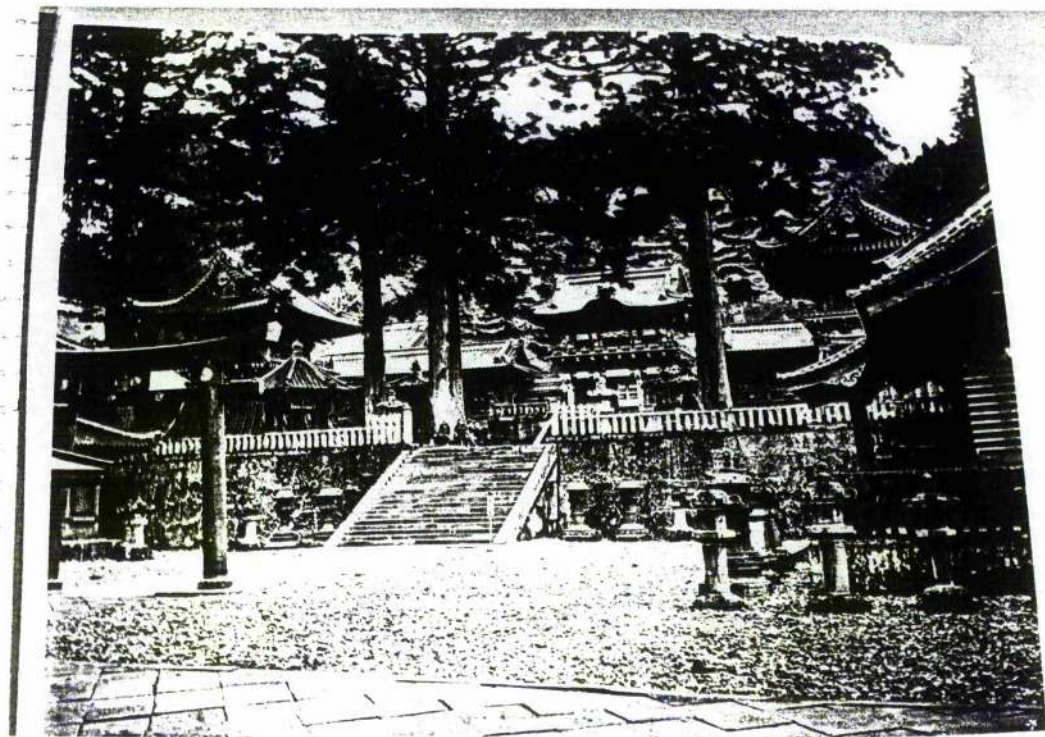


Plate. 173. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Rinzo, Koro, Yomei-mon Gate and Joshinko around Ni-no-Torii at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

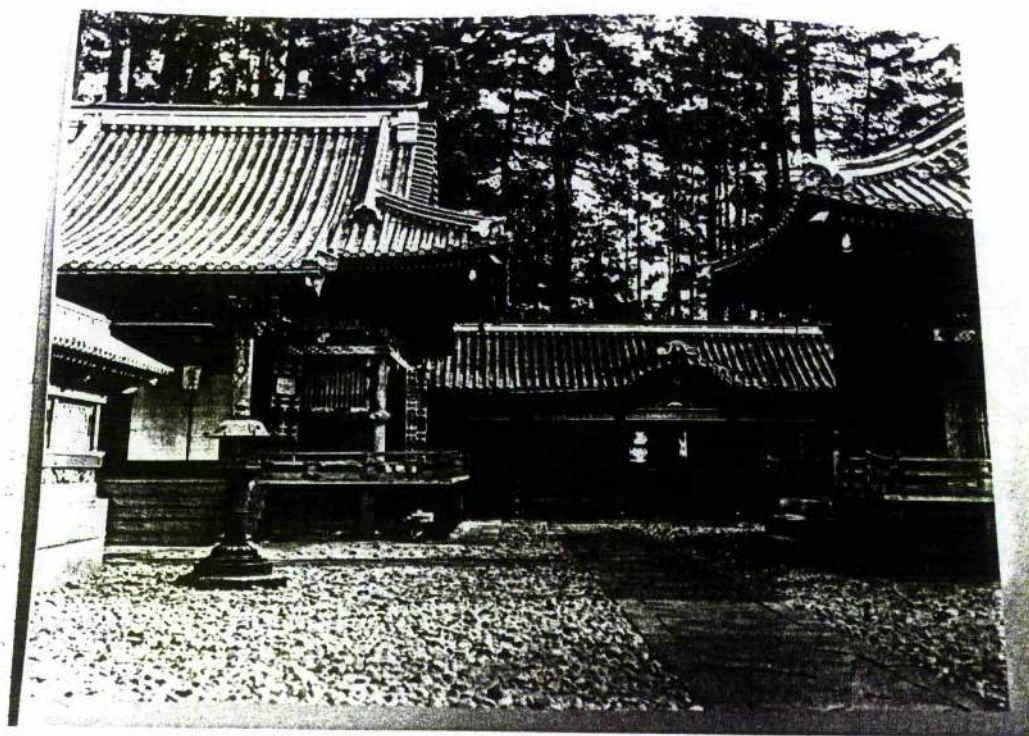


Plate. 174. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shrine Precincts at Nikko*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 175. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shrine Precincts at Nikko ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 176. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Shrine Precincts at Nikko ?*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

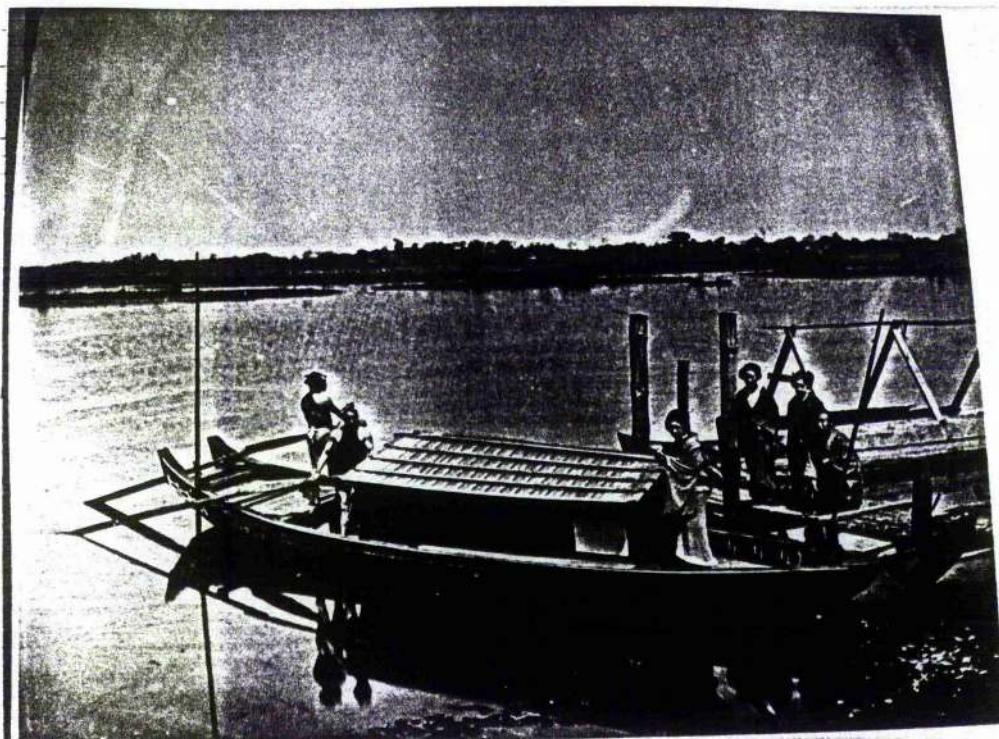


Plate. 177. Shuzaburo Usui, [*People Embarking on Yakata-bune (Pleasure Barge)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 178. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Maid Working by Well]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

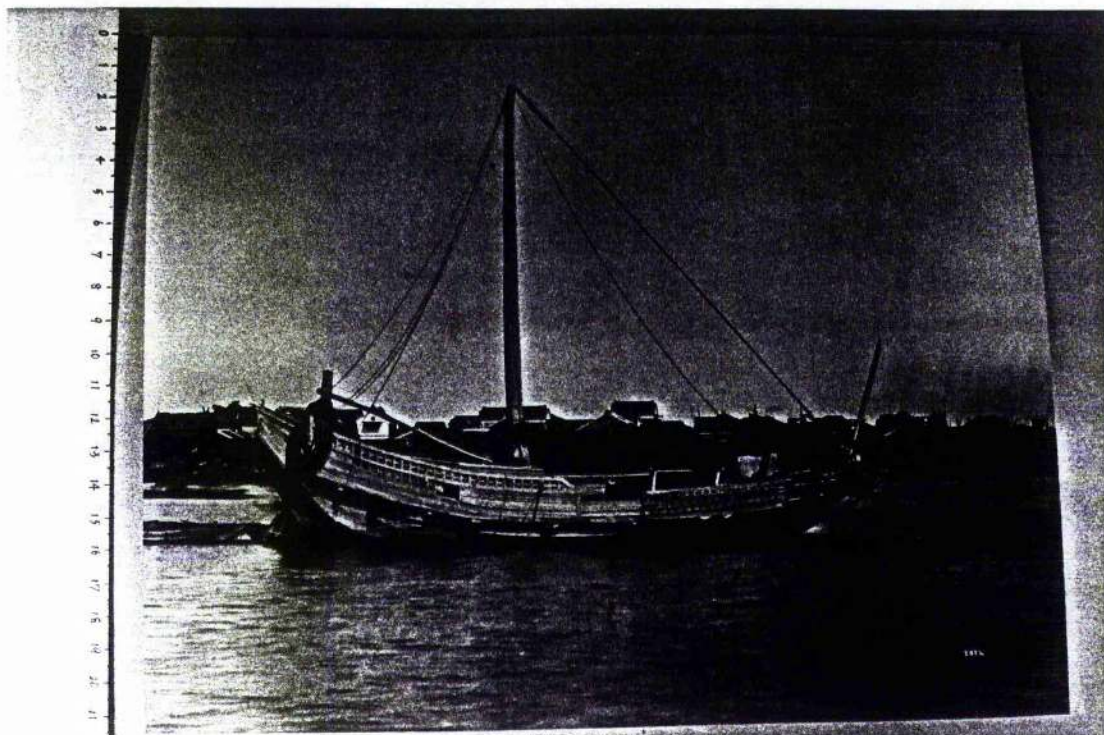


Plate. 179. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Large Japanese Junk]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 180. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman Sitting on a Chair*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 181. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman Sitting on a Chair*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 182. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman Sitting on Zashiki (Floor or Mattress)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 183. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Young Buddhist Monk*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

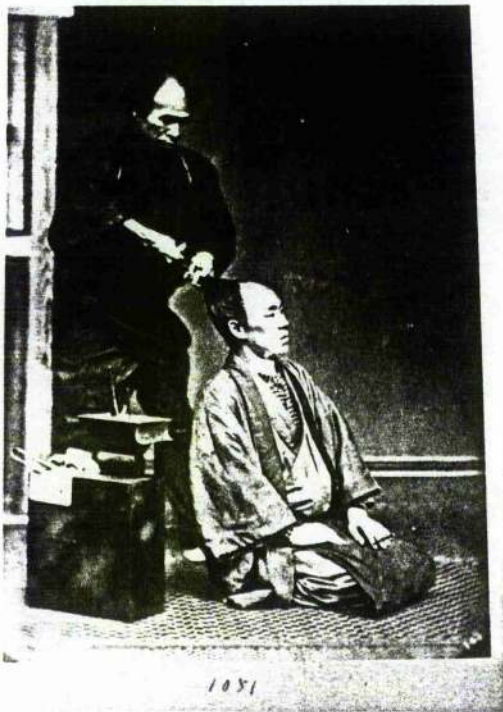


Plate. 184. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Barber with Male Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 185. Shuzaburo Usui, [*A Woman with Japanese Umbrella*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 180-185a. Original layout of Plate. 180 - 185.

1862



Plate. 186. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Three Women Standing with Linked Hands]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 187. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Two Women Standing with Linked Hands]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

1864



Plate. 188. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Middle-aged Couple with Stove]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 189. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Elderly Couple]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 186-189a. Original
layout of Plate. 186 - 189.

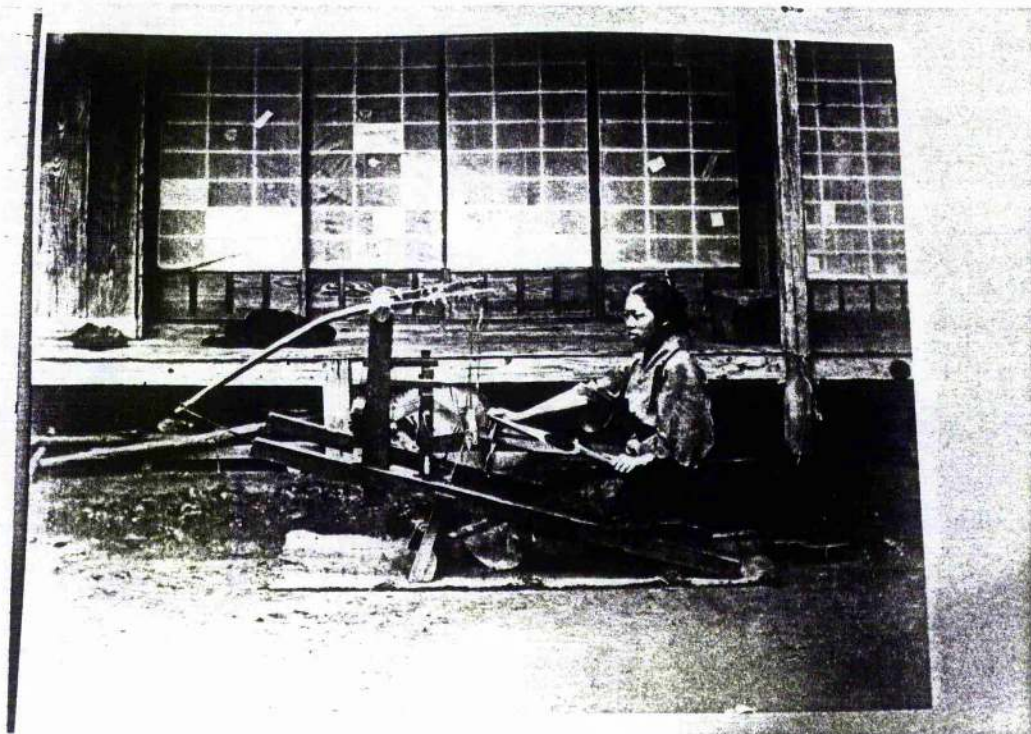


Plate. 190. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Girl with Handloom*], albumen tinted
print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 191. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), *[Three Maikos Wearing Fine Clothes]*, albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 192. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), *[Hardware Shop]*, albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 193. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Mounted Soldier in Full Armour on War-Horse with Two Other Figures (Models?) Showing Armour]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 194. Shuzaburo Usui, *[Portrait of Wealthy Woman and Daughter in Zashiki with Koto]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 195. Shuzaburo Usui,
*[Girl/Maid Showing Kanzashi
 (Hair Accessory) to Woman
 Holding Japanese Umbrella]*,
 albumen tinted print, 1870s.
 Andrew Carnegie Birthplace
 Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 194-195a. Original layout of Plate. 194 - 195.

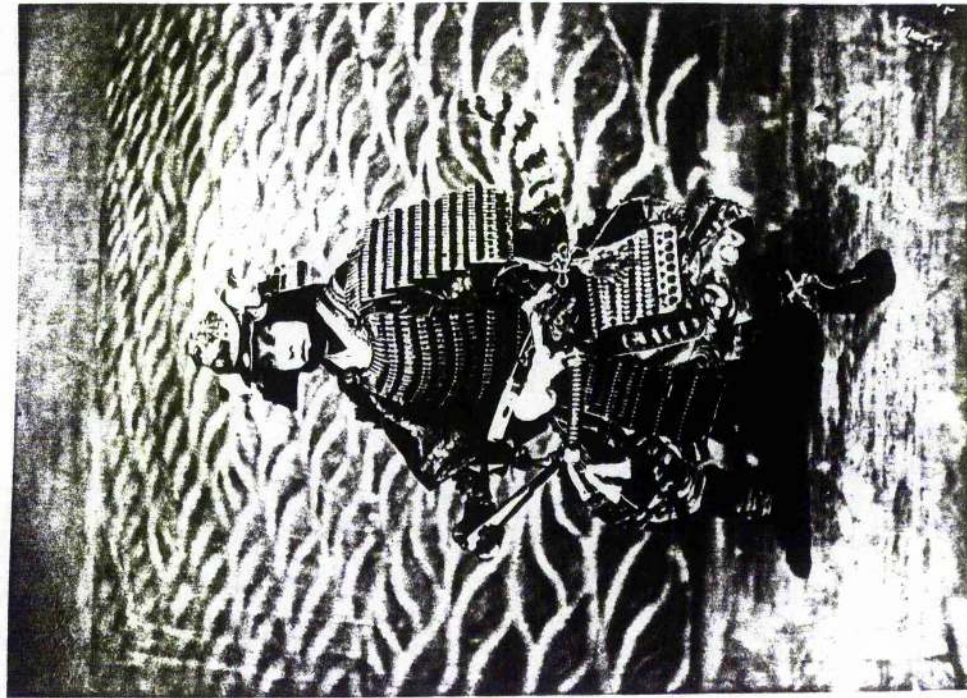


Plate. 196. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Kabuki Actor in Warrior Costume*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

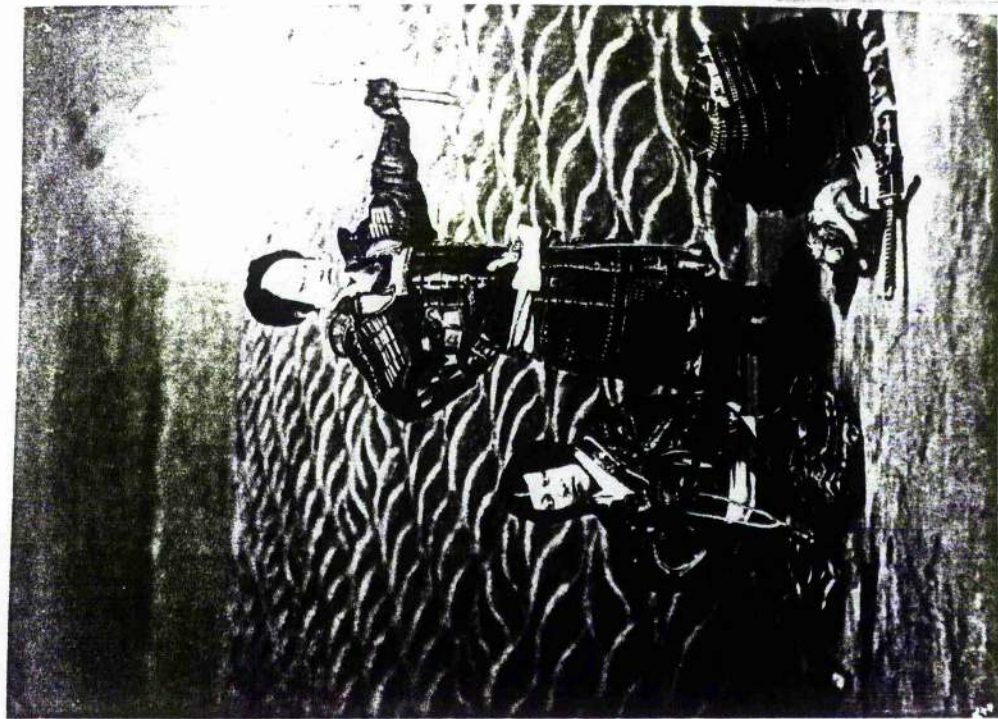


Plate. 197. Shuzaburo Usui, [*Two Kabuki Actors in Warrior Costume Acting a Guillotine Scene*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 196-197a. Original layout of Plate. 196 - 197.

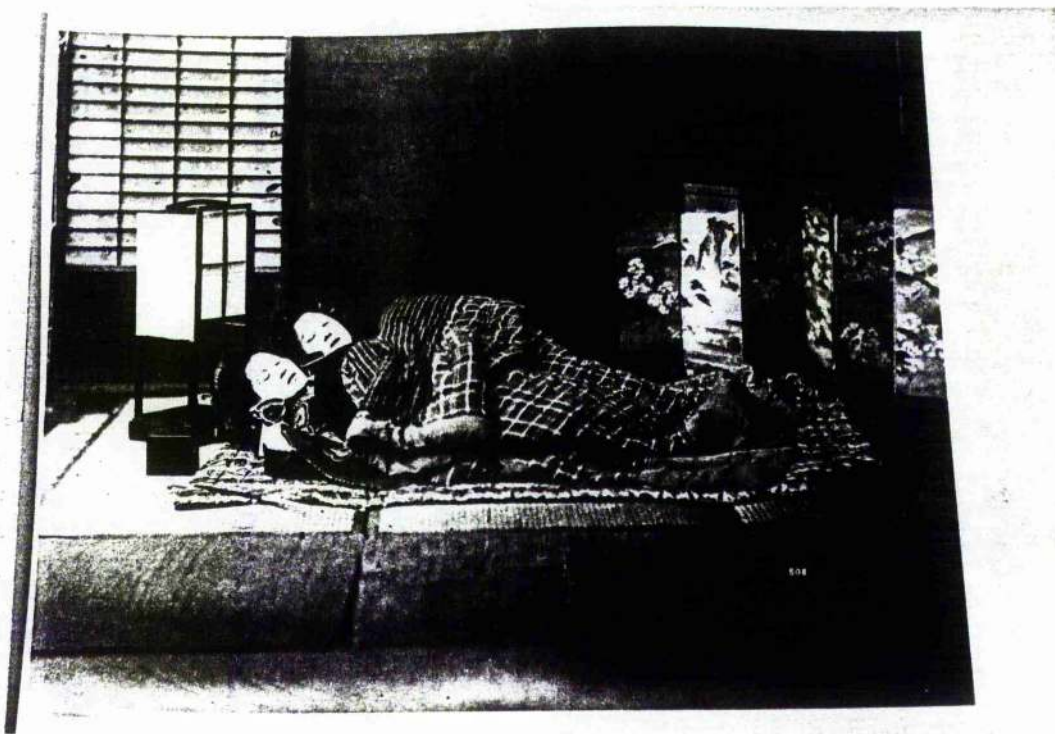


Plate. 198. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Women Sleeping in a Japanese Bed]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

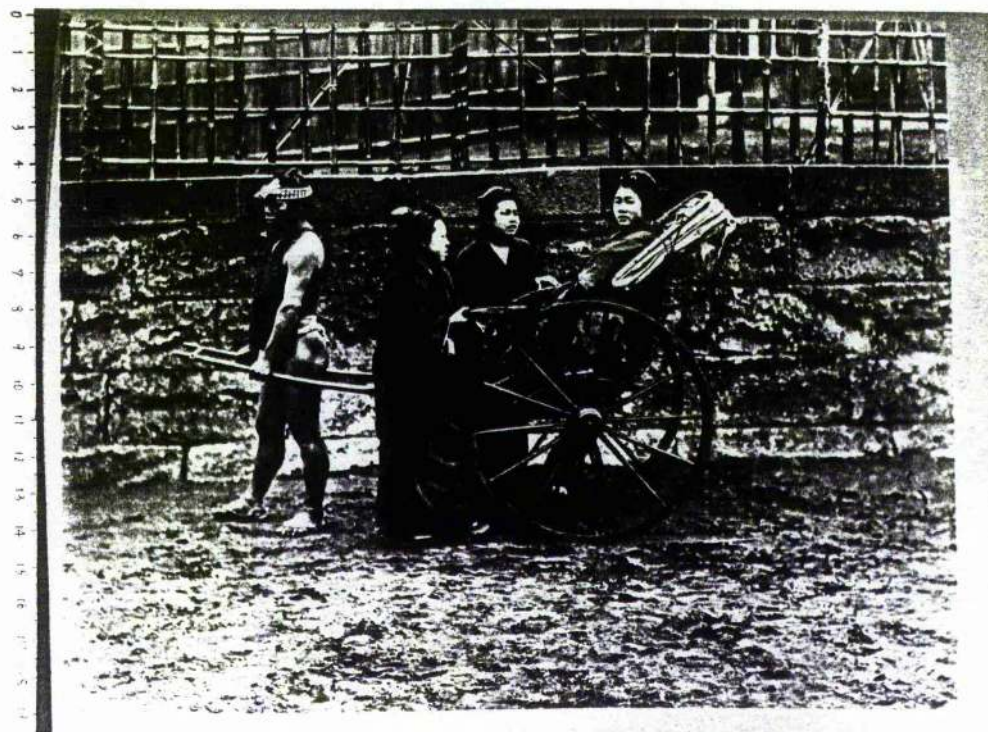


Plate. 199. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Women Chatting to Woman in a Rickshaw]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

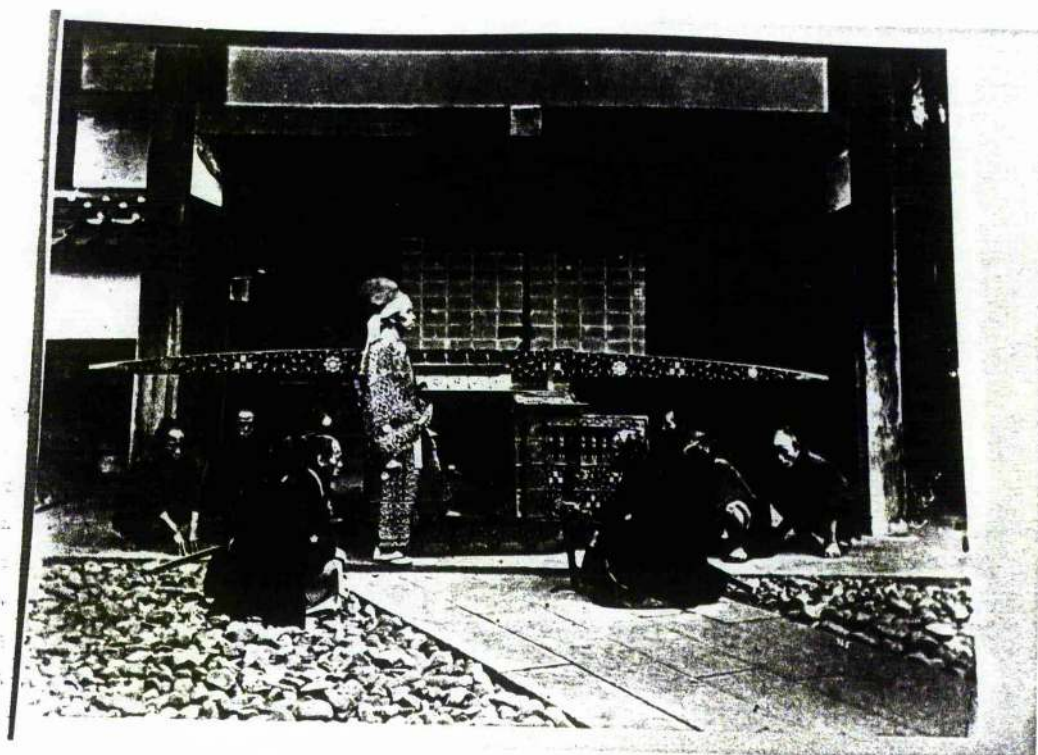


Plate. 200. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[High Class Samurai about to Enter His Sedan Chair]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

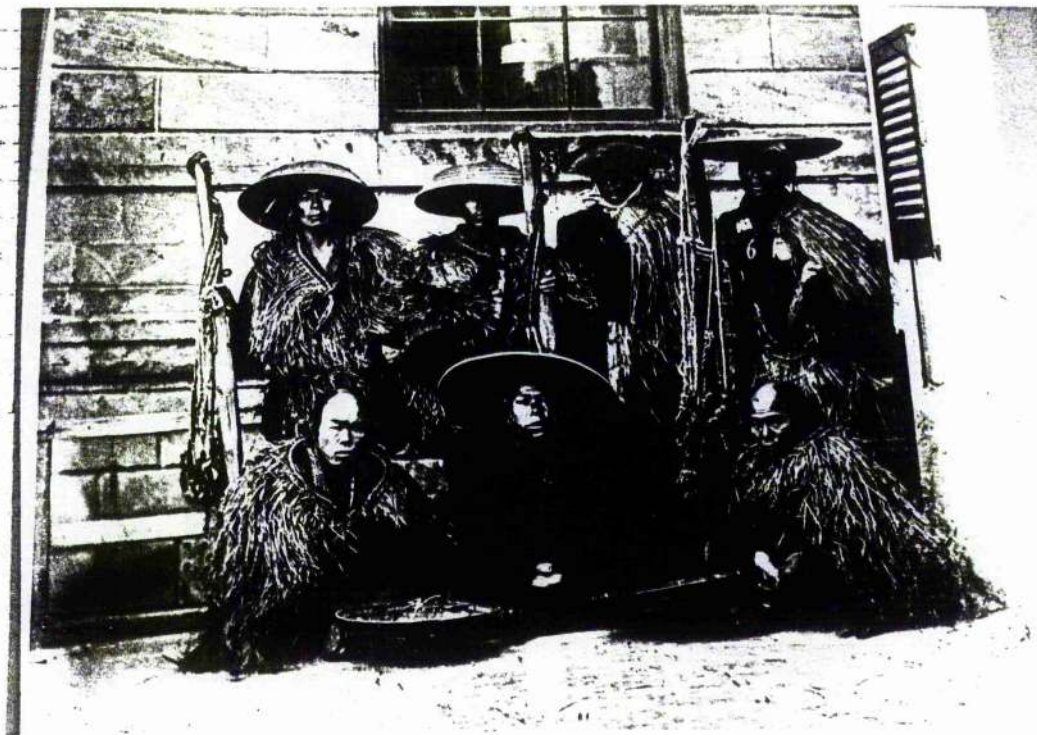


Plate. 201. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Group of Porters]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 202. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Party Scene with Oiran]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 203. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Gagaku (Shinto Dancers)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

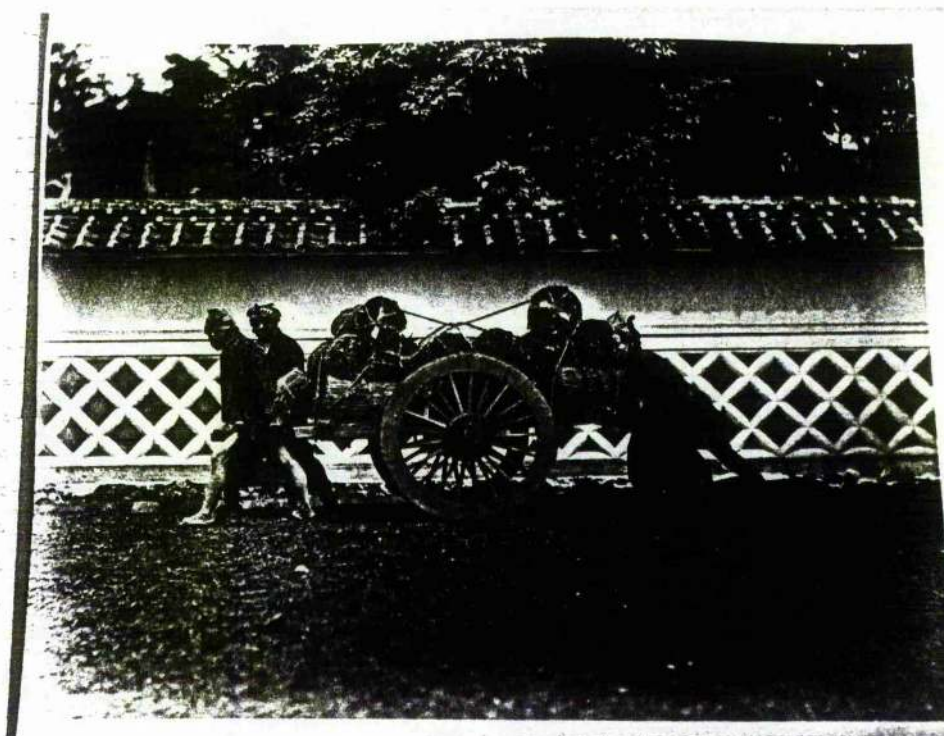


Plate. 204. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Four Men Pulling Daihachiguruma (Cart)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

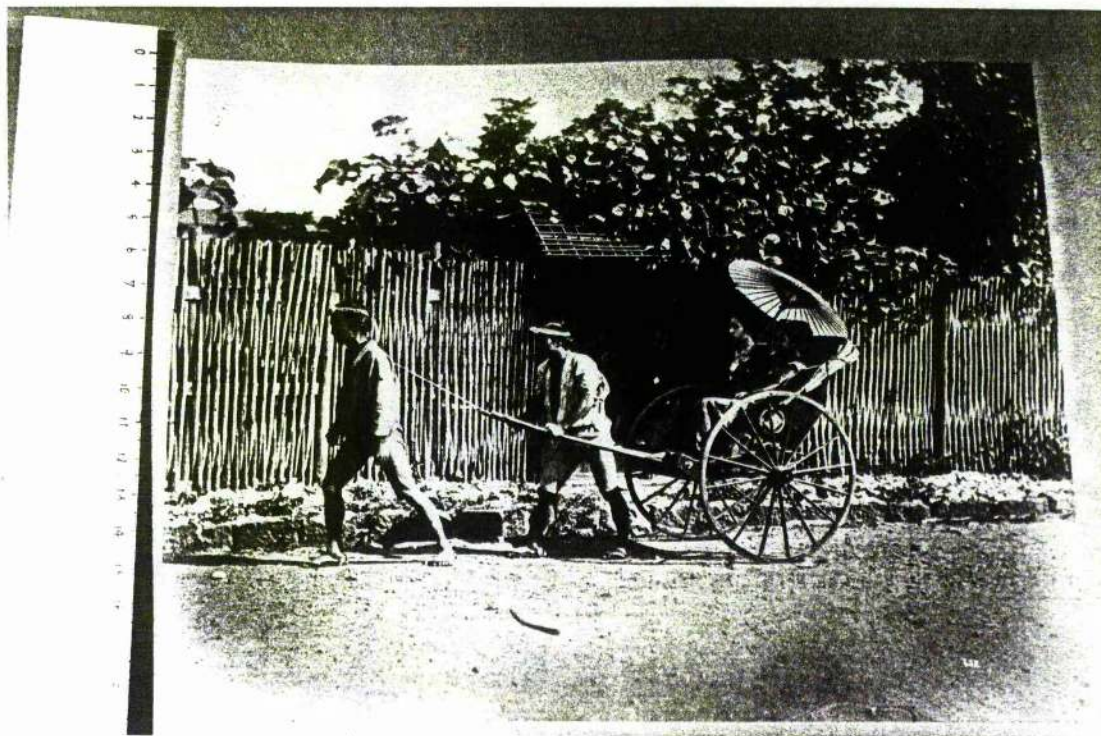


Plate. 205. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Men Pulling Rickshaw for Two Women with Umbrella]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

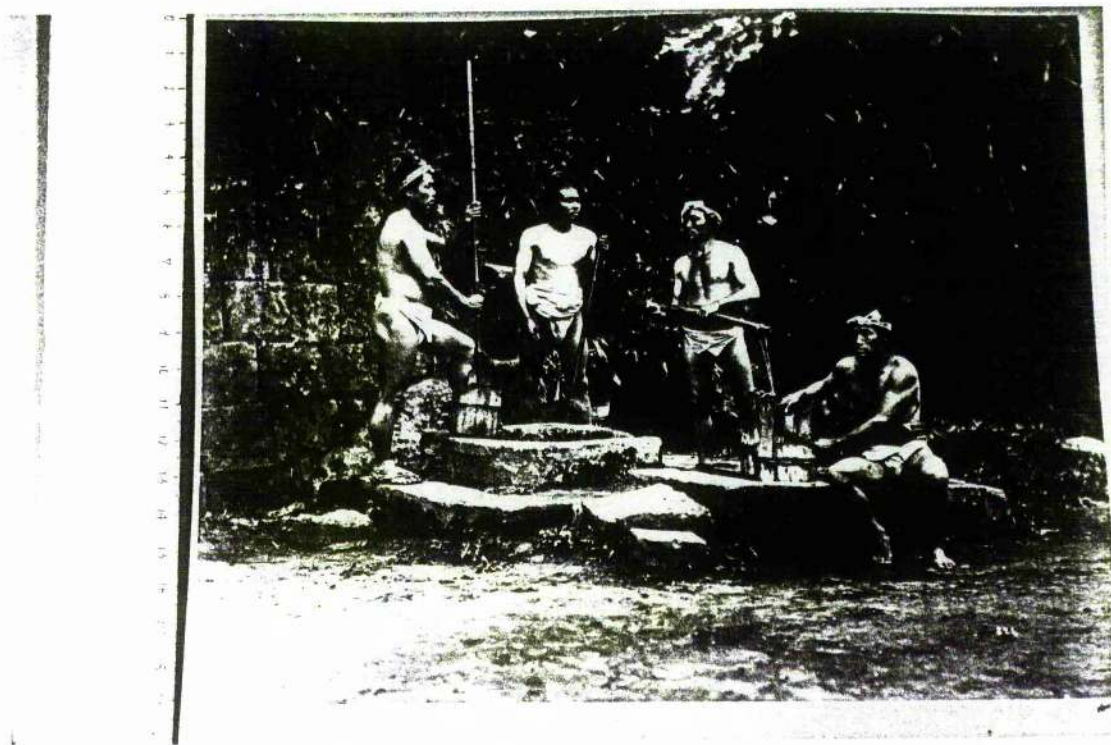


Plate. 206. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Four Men Drawing Water from Well]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 207. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Doctor and Female Patient*], albumen tinted print, 1867-68. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

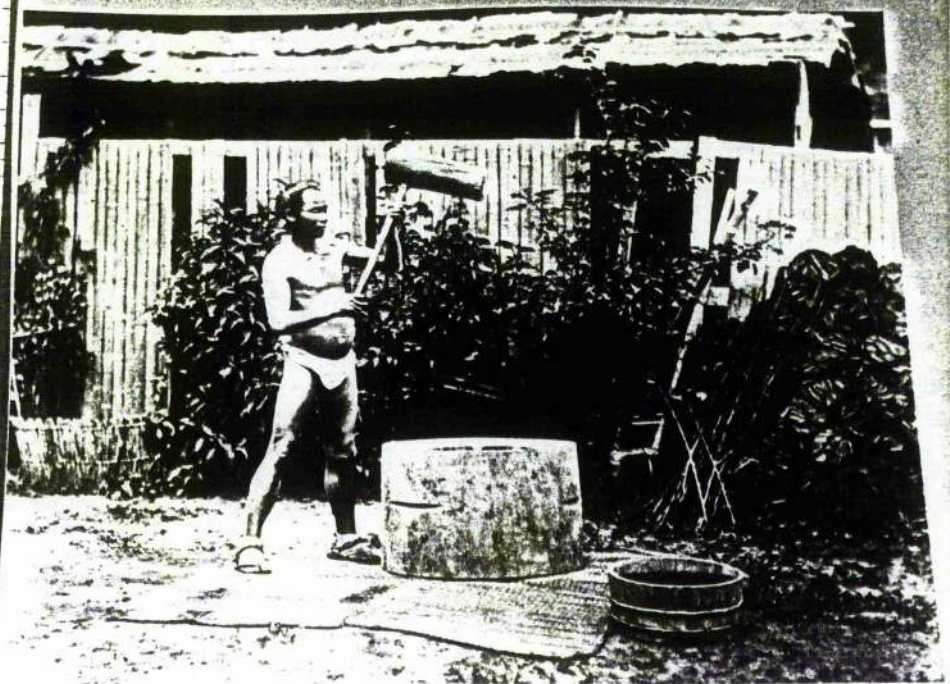


Plate. 208. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Man Pounding Rice for Mochi (Rice Cakes)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

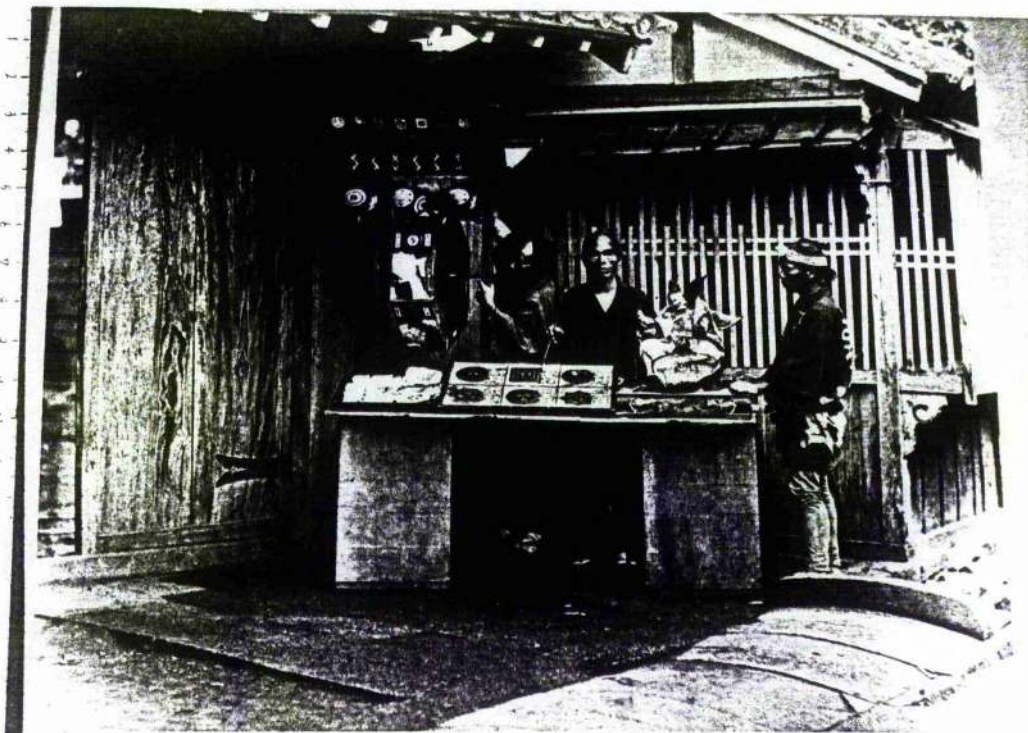


Plate. 209. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Omikuji* (Divination Lottery), Outside Temple], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

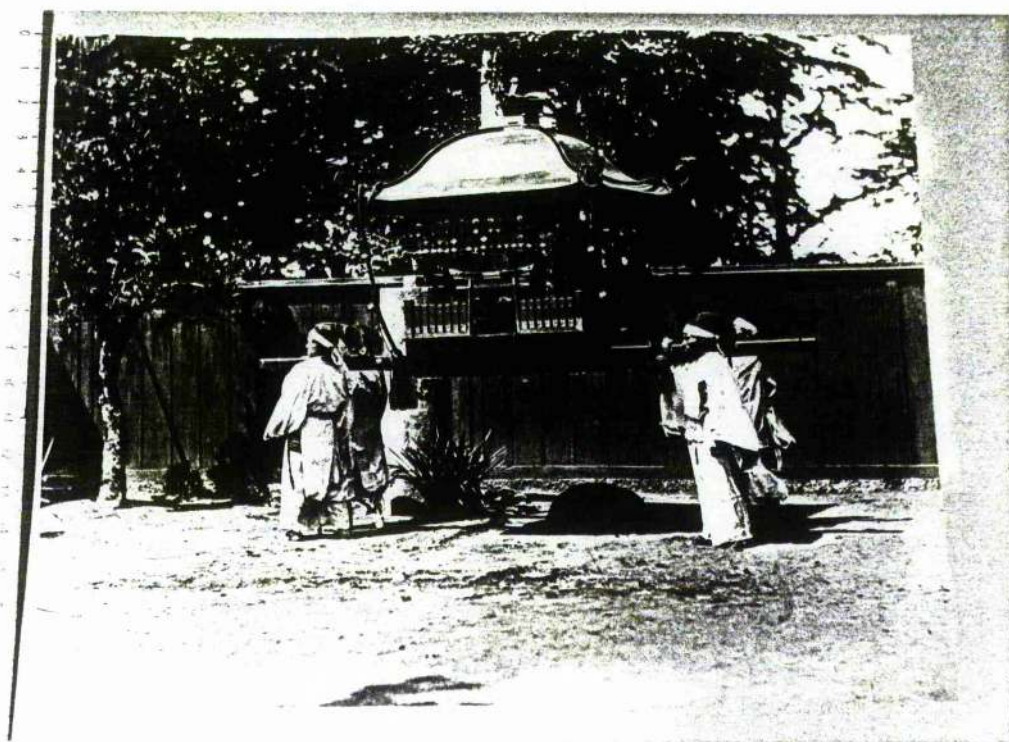


Plate. 210. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Four Men Carrying Mikoshi* (Shinto Sacred Palanquin)], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

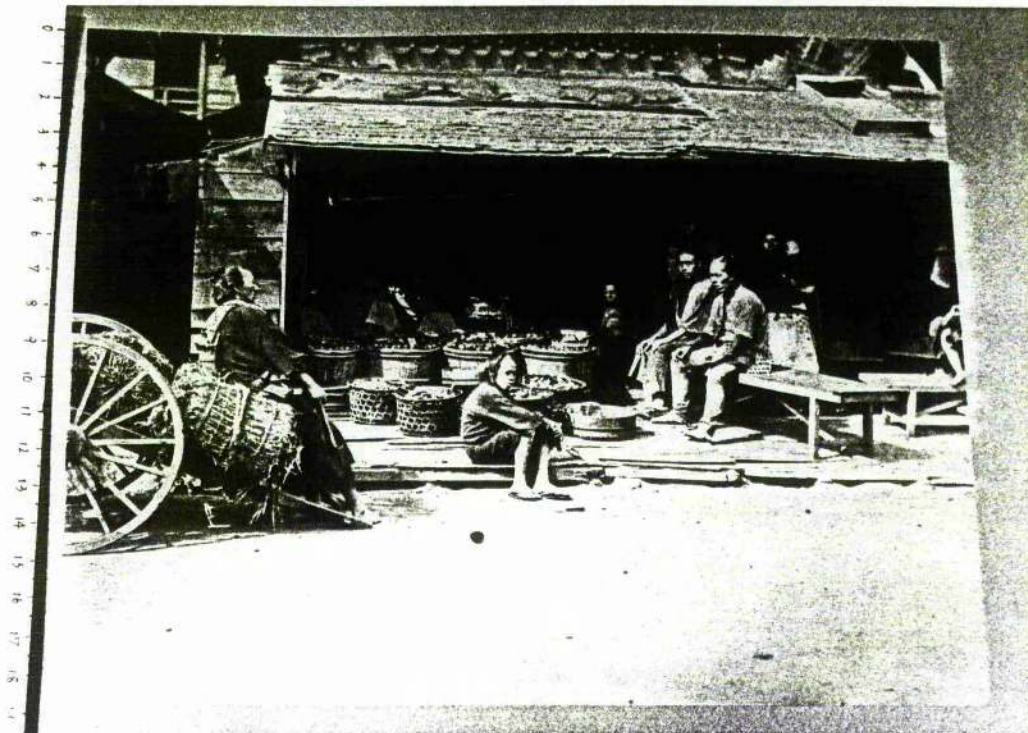


Plate. 211. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Vegetable Shop*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 212. Felice Beato (Imprint: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz), [*Children and Baby-Sitters*], albumen tinted print, 1860s-70s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.



Plate. 213. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, *[Two Women, One Laying Down]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum, Dunfermline, Fife.

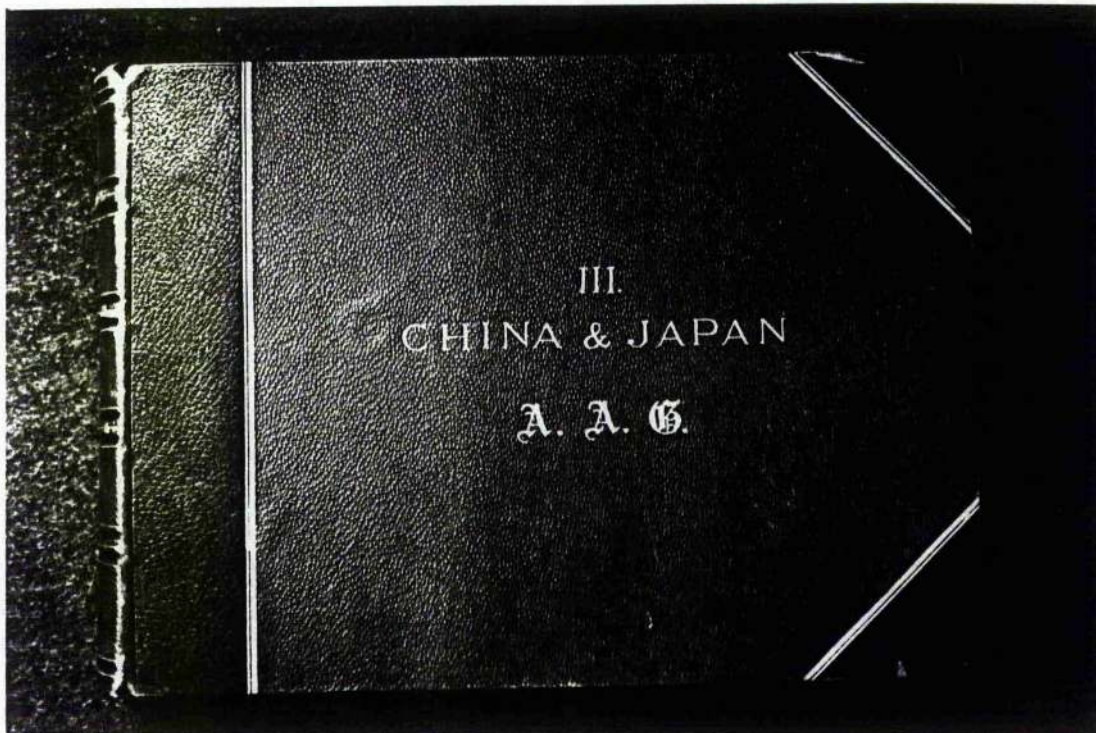


Plate. 214. The front cover of the Gordon Album, Vol. 3: III./ CHINA & JAPAN/ A. A. G.

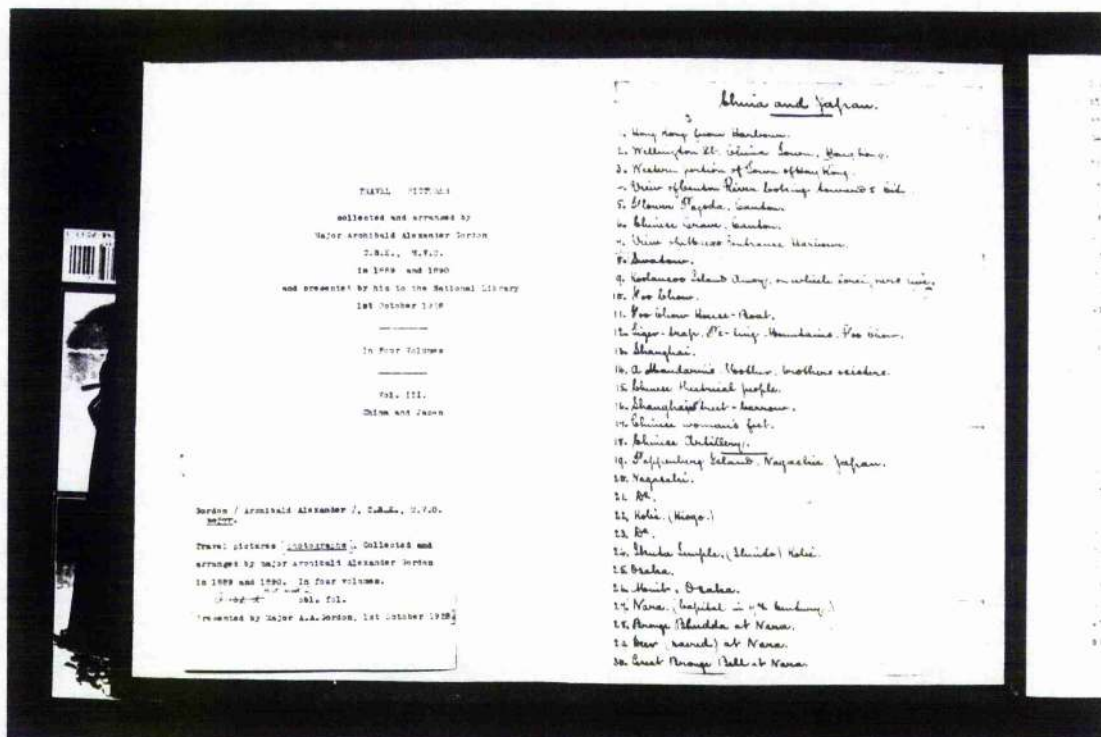


Plate. 215. The first page of the hand-written index made by Archibald Alexander Gordon.

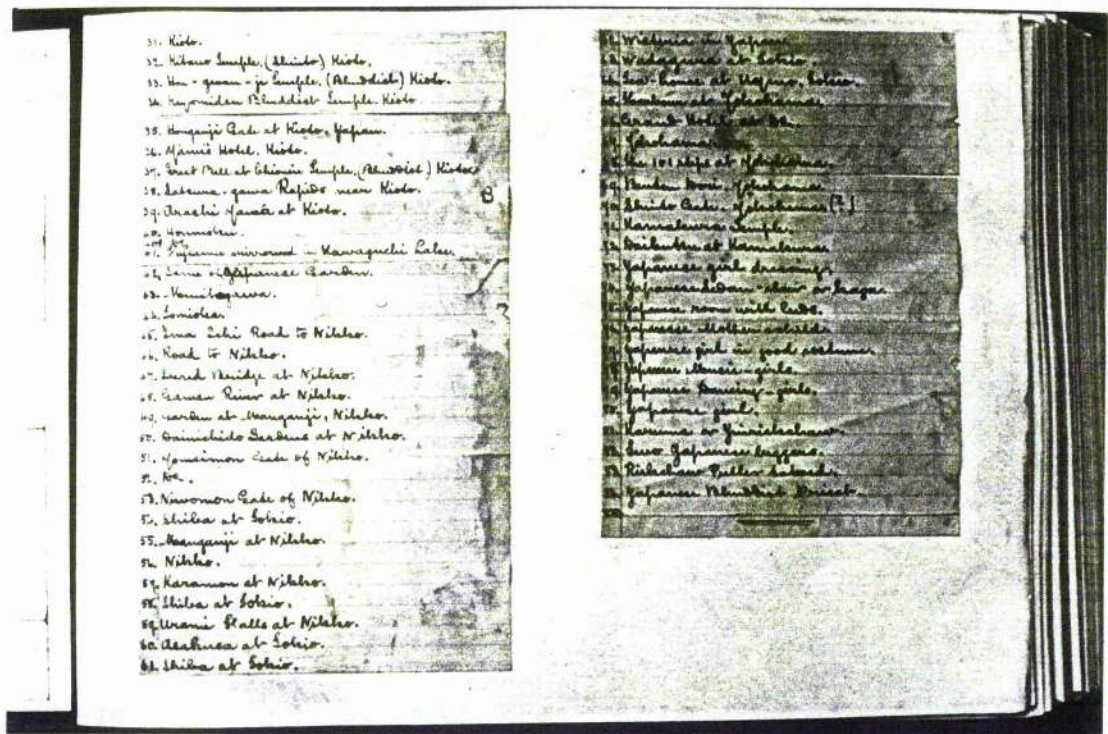


Plate. 216. The second page of the hand-written index made by Archibald Alexander Gordon.



Plate. 217. Anonymous photographer, Pappenberg Island, Nagasaki, Japan, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 218. Anonymous photographer, *Nagasaki*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

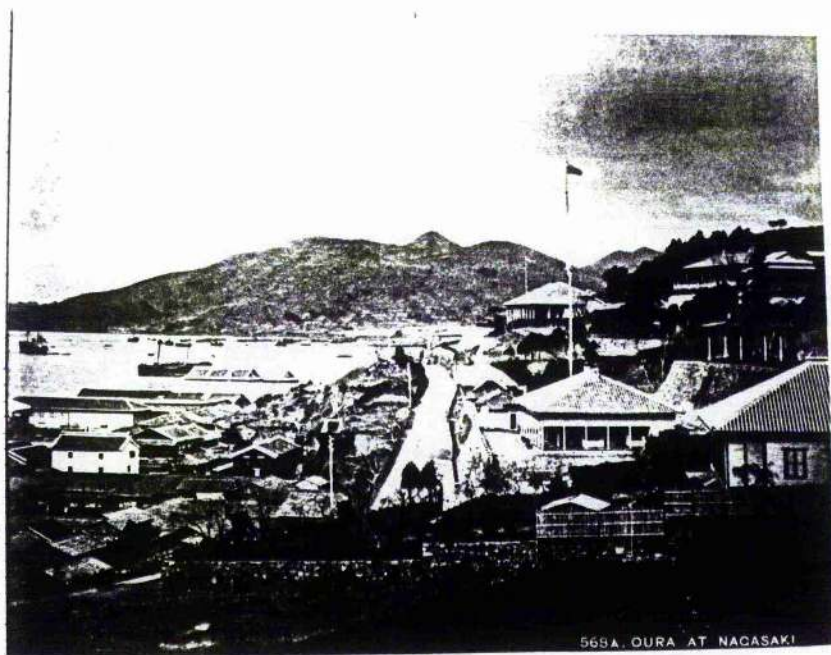


Plate. 219. Anonymous photographer, *Do [Oura at Nagasaki]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 220. Anonymous photographer, *Kobe (Hiogo)*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

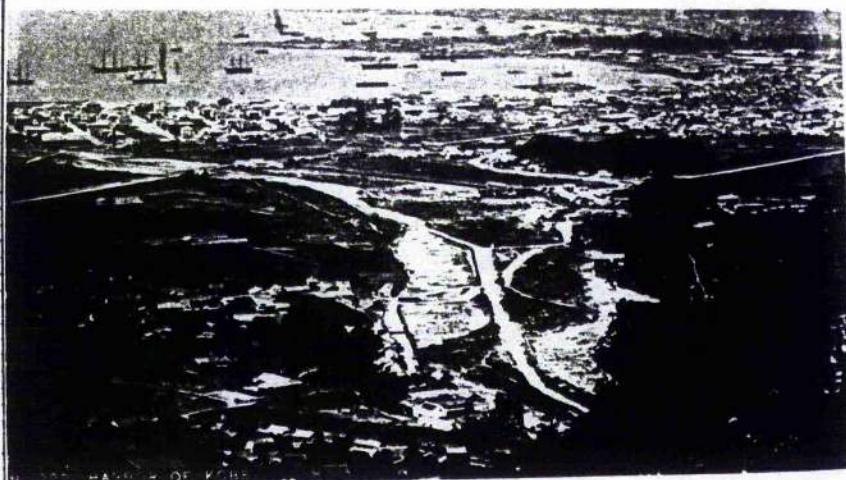


Plate. 221. Anonymous photographer, *Do [Kobe Harbor]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 222. Anonymous photographer, *Ikusa*[*Ikuta*] Temple, (*Shinto*)
Kobe, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 223. Anonymous photographer, *Osaka*, albumen tinted print,
 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

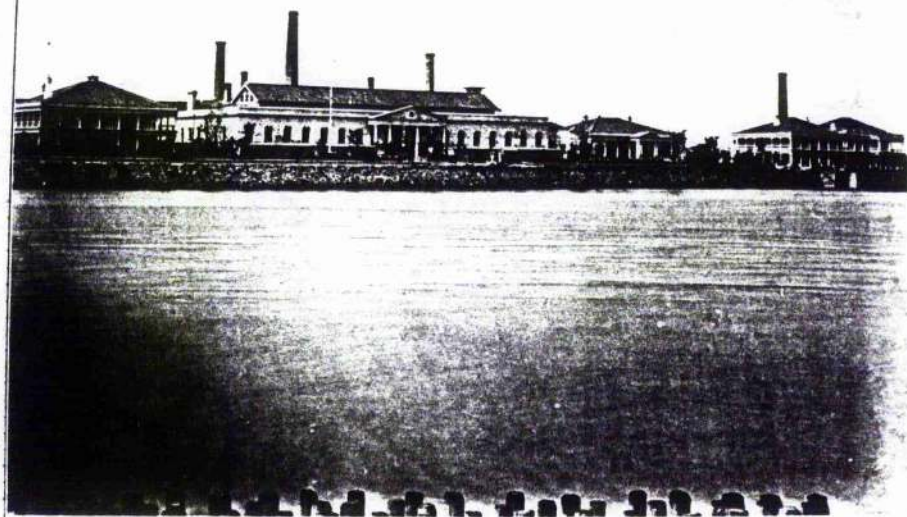


Plate. 224. Anonymous photographer, *Menit[Mint]*, Osaka, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

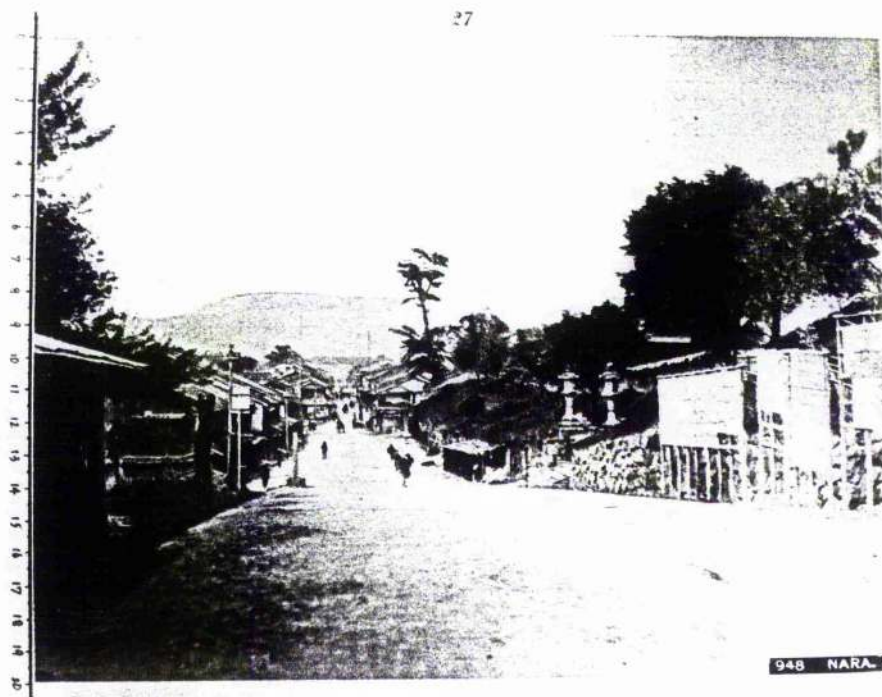


Plate. 225. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Nara (Capital [of Japan] in 7th Century)*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 226. Anonymous photographer, *Bronze Bhudda [Buddha] at Nara*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

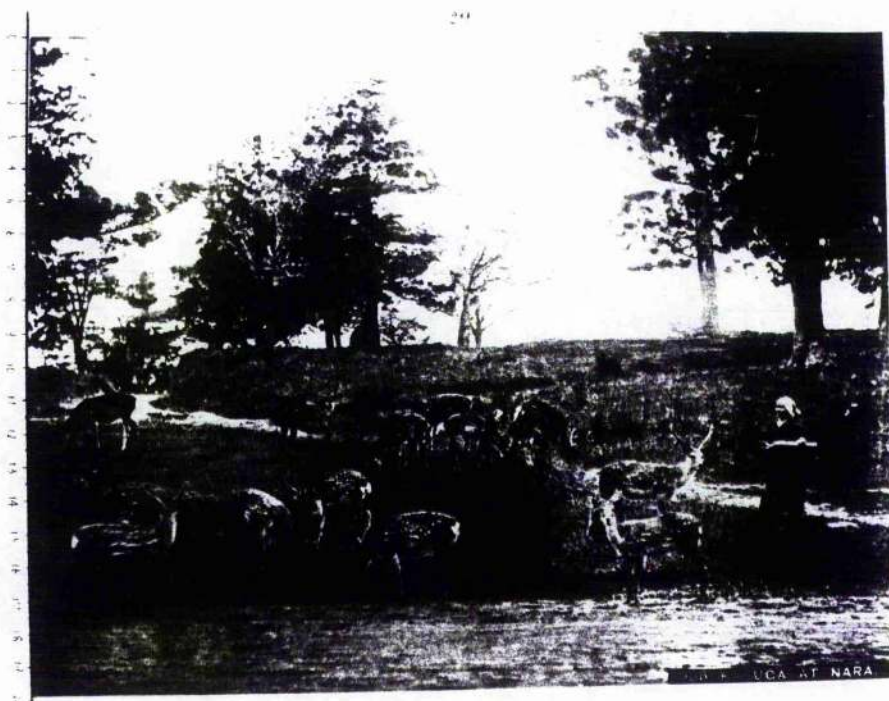


Plate. 227. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Deer (Sacred) at Nara [Kasuga at Nara]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

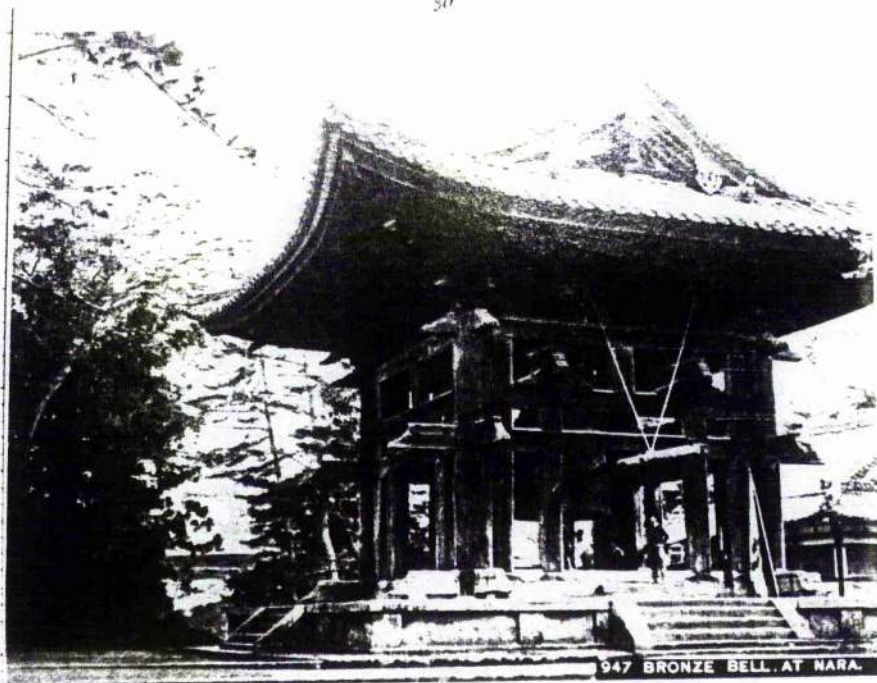


Plate. 228. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Great Bronze Bell at Nara*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 229. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Kioto [Kyoto Town from Maruyama]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

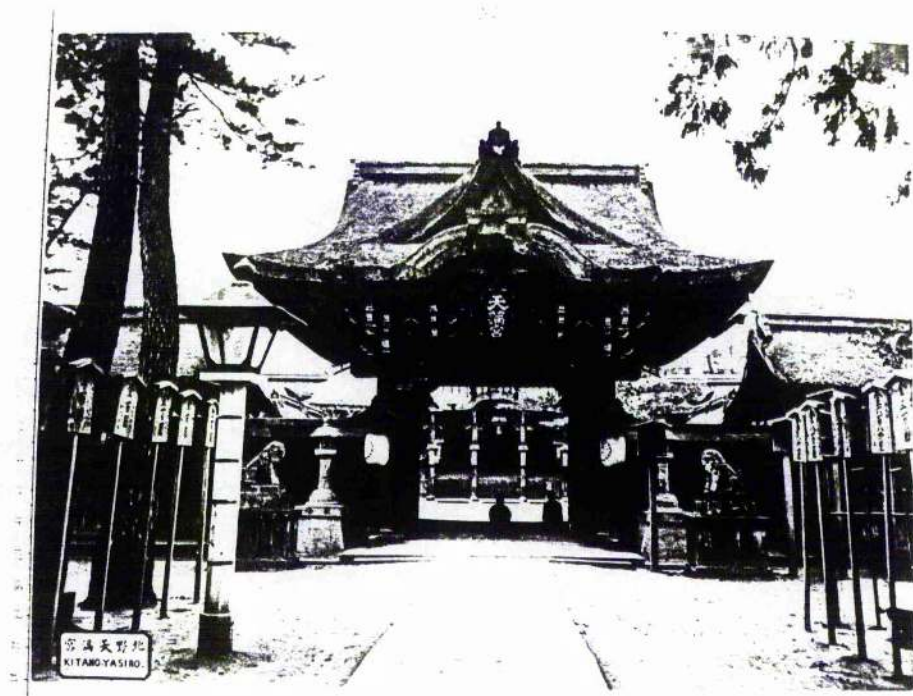


Plate. 230. Anonymous photographer, *Kitano Temple, (Shinto) Kyoto*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 230a. Detail of Plate. 230.



Plate. 231. Anonymous photographer, *Hon-gwan[gan]-ji Temple, Kyoto.* (Bhuddist)[Buddhist], albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 232. Anonymous photographer, *Kiyomidzu Bhuddist[Buddhist] Temple, Kyoto* albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

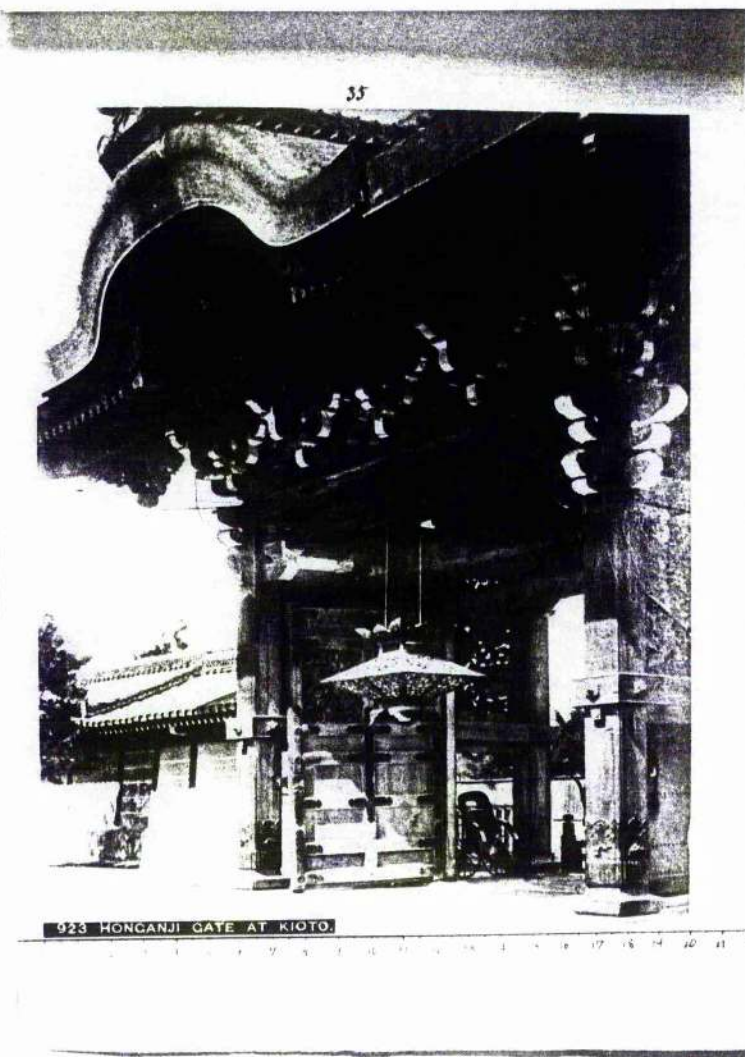


Plate. 233. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Honganji Gate at Kyoto, Japan*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

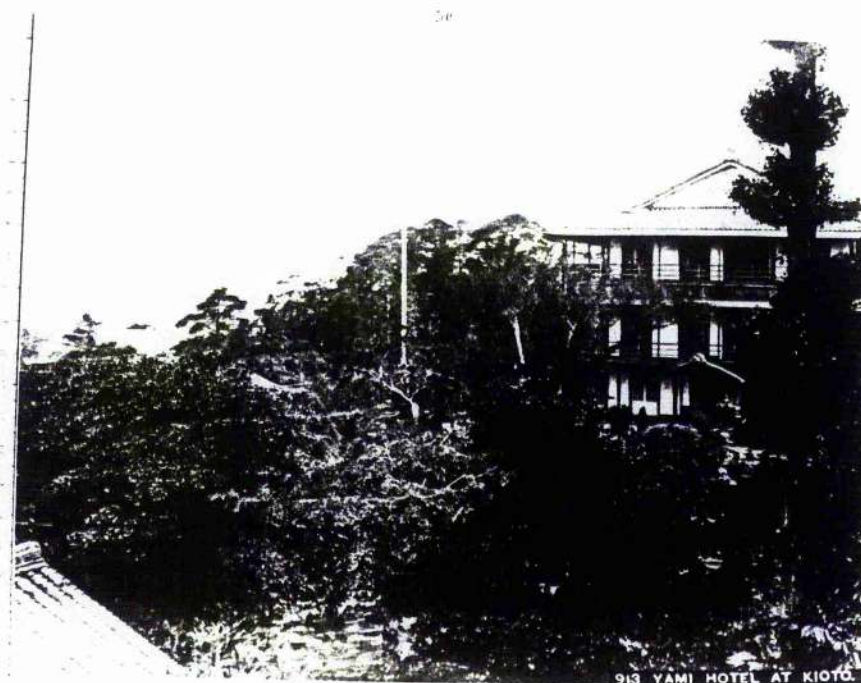
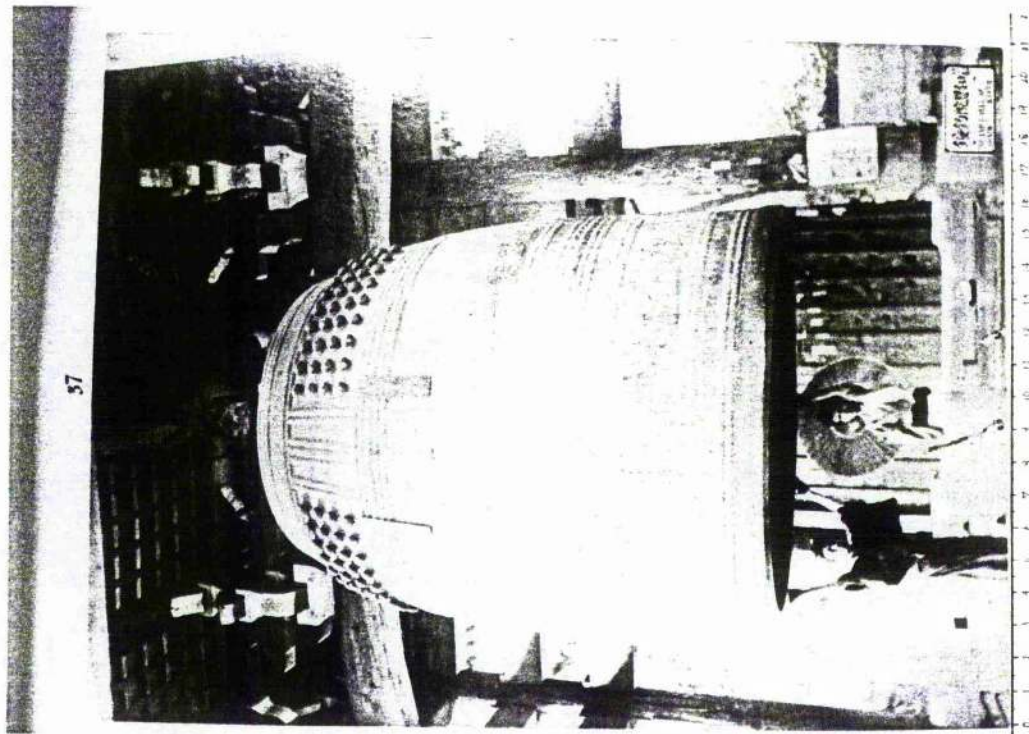


Plate. 234. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Yami's Hotel, Kyoto [Yaami Hotel at Maruyama]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



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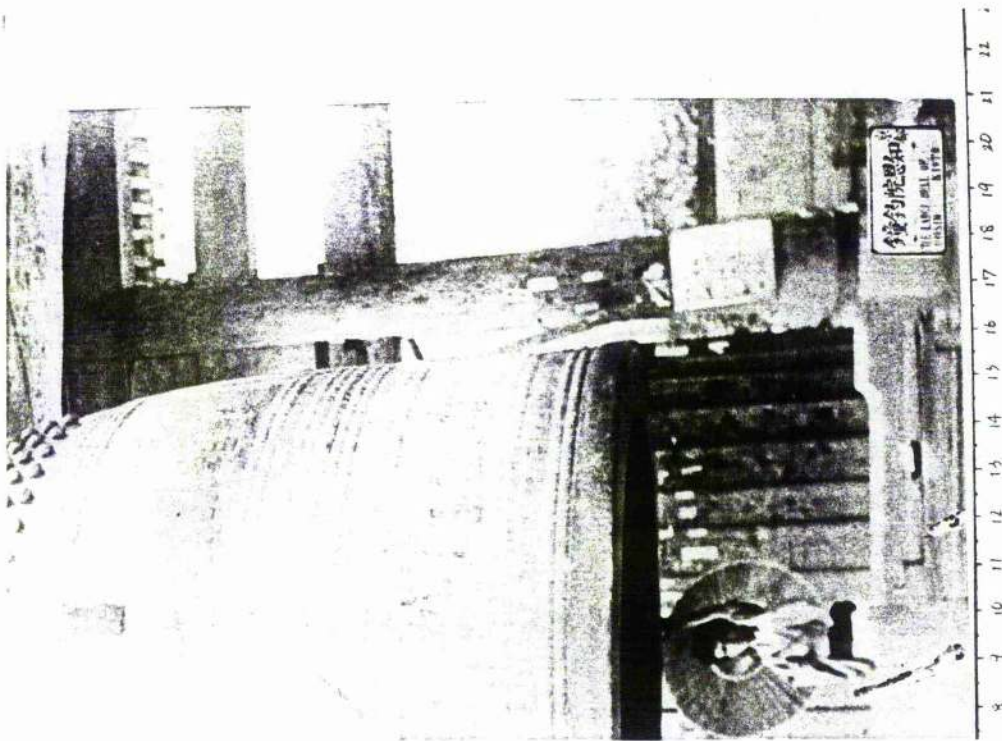


Plate. 235. Anonymous photographer,
Great Bell at Chionin Temple, (Buddhist)
[Buddhist] Kyoto, albumen print, 1870s-80s.
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Plate. 235a. Detail of Plate. 235.

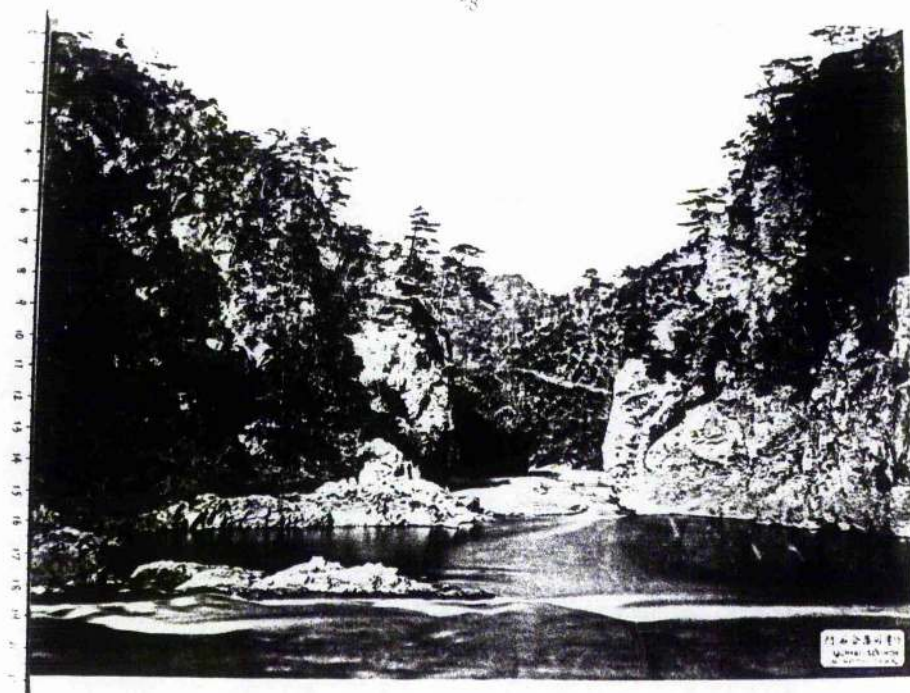


Plate. 236. Anonymous photographer, *Satswa[Hodsu]-gawa Rapids near Kyoto [Ochiai-sekimon in Hodsu-gawa]*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

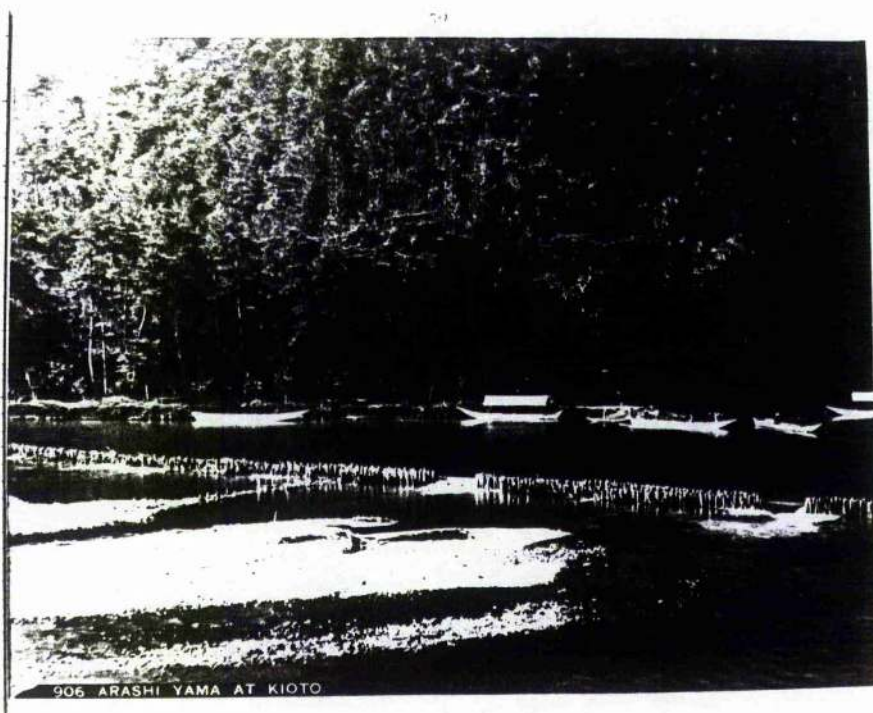


Plate. 237. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Arashi Yama at Kyoto*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

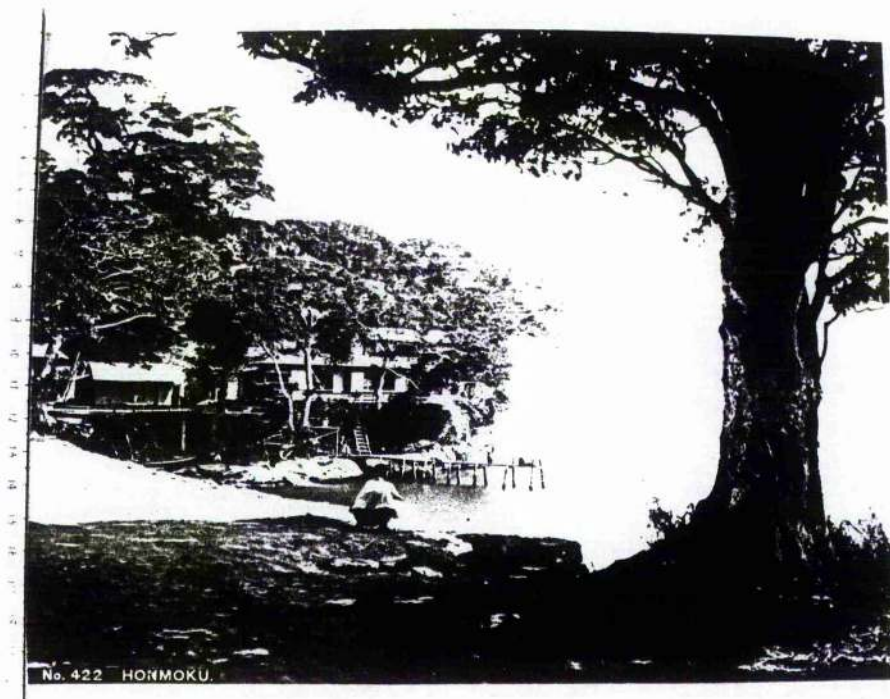


Plate. 238. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Honmoku [Tea House at Honmoku Juni-ten]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

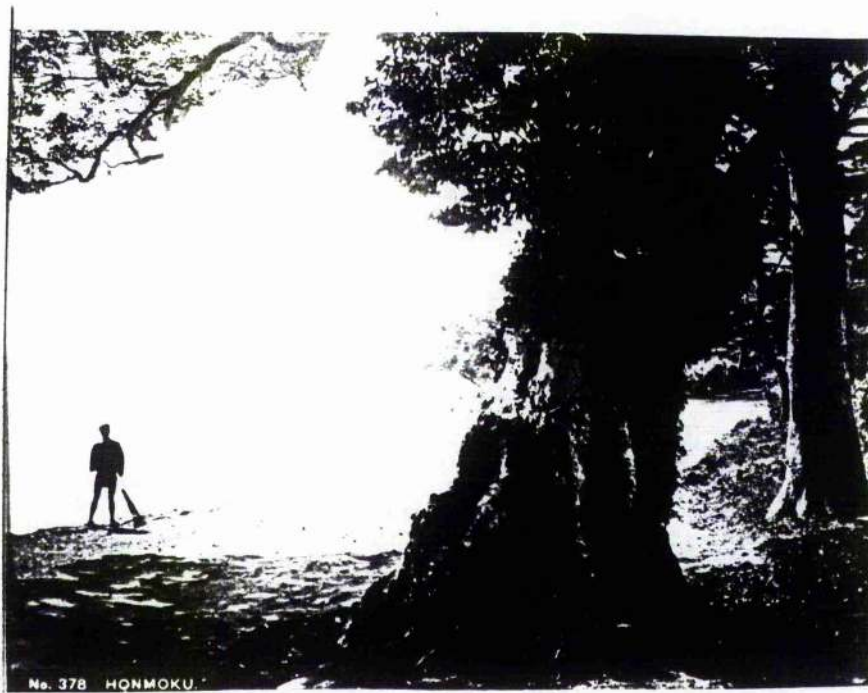


Plate. 239. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Do [Miyahara Beach from Torii-Gate of Honmoku Shrine]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

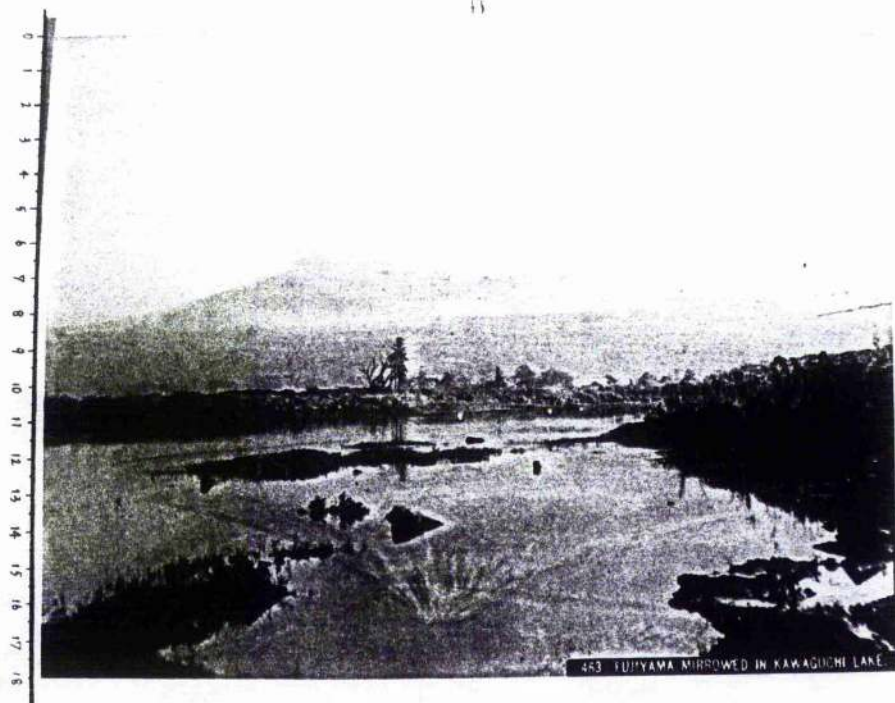


Plate. 240. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Fujiyama Mirrored in Kawaguchi Lake*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 241. Anonymous photographer, *Scene of Japanese Garden*, albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

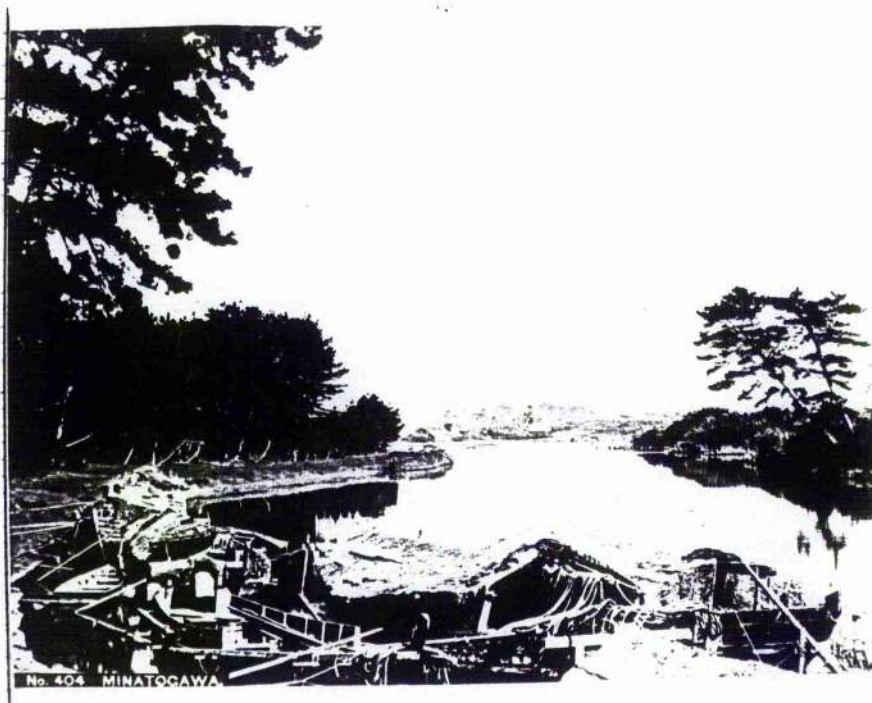


Plate. 242. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Minitogawa* [*Minatogawa with Mt. Fuji*], albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

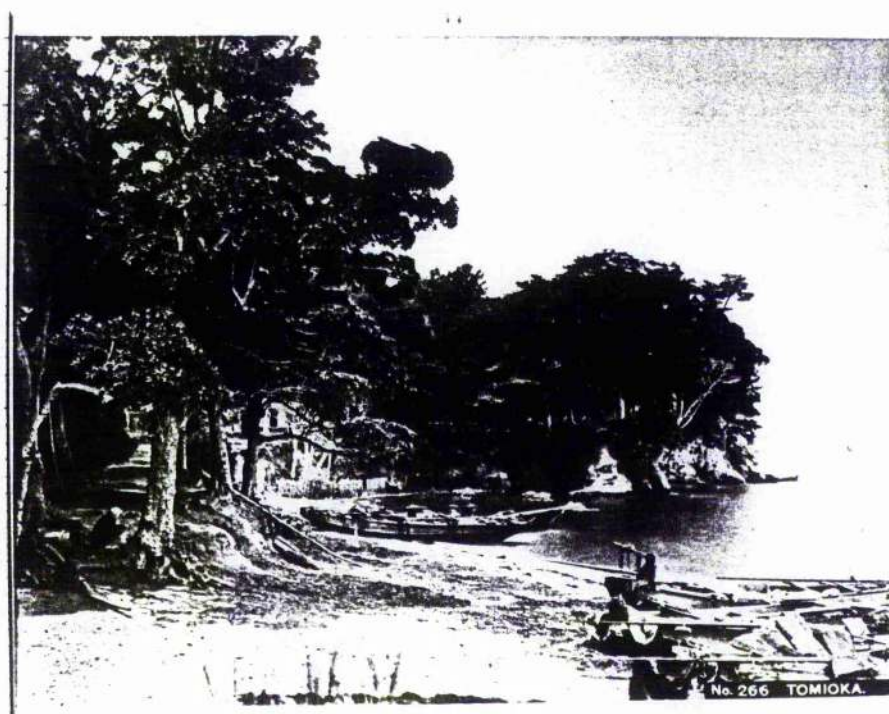


Plate. 243. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Tomioka*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 244. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Ima Ichi Road to Nikko* [*Ima Ichi Road to Nikko with an Avenue of Cedar Trees*], albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 244a. Detail of Plate. 244.



Plate. 245. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Road to Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 246. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Sacred Bridge at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

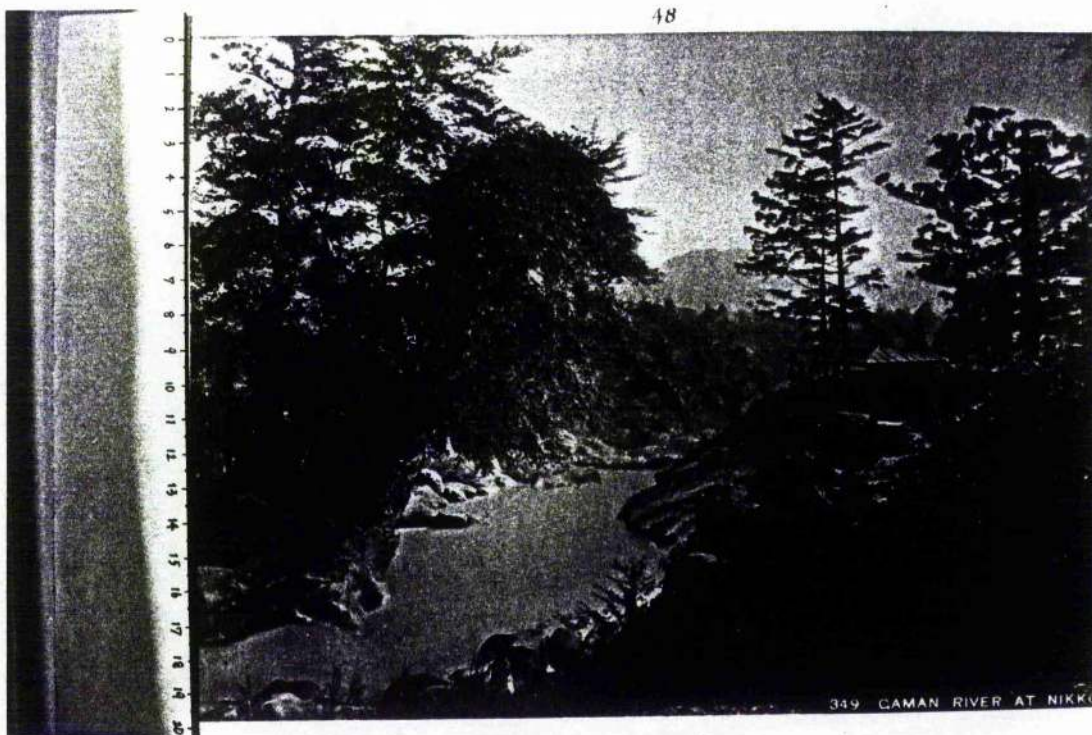


Plate. 247. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Gaman River at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

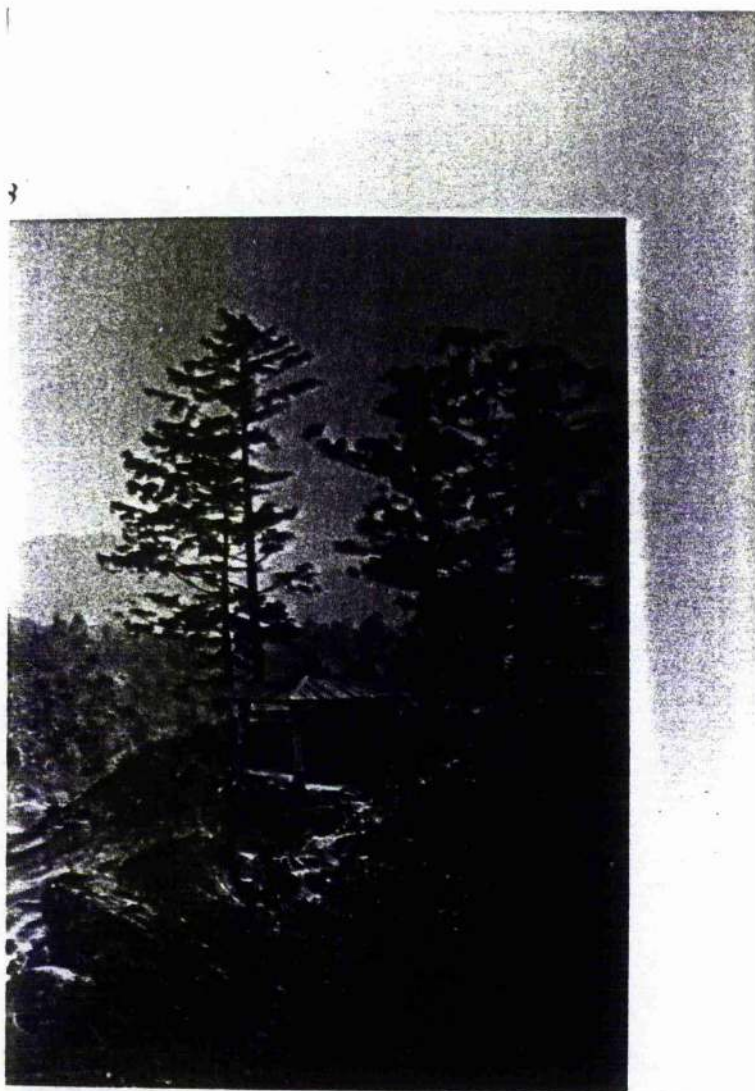


Plate. 247a. Detail of Plate. 247.

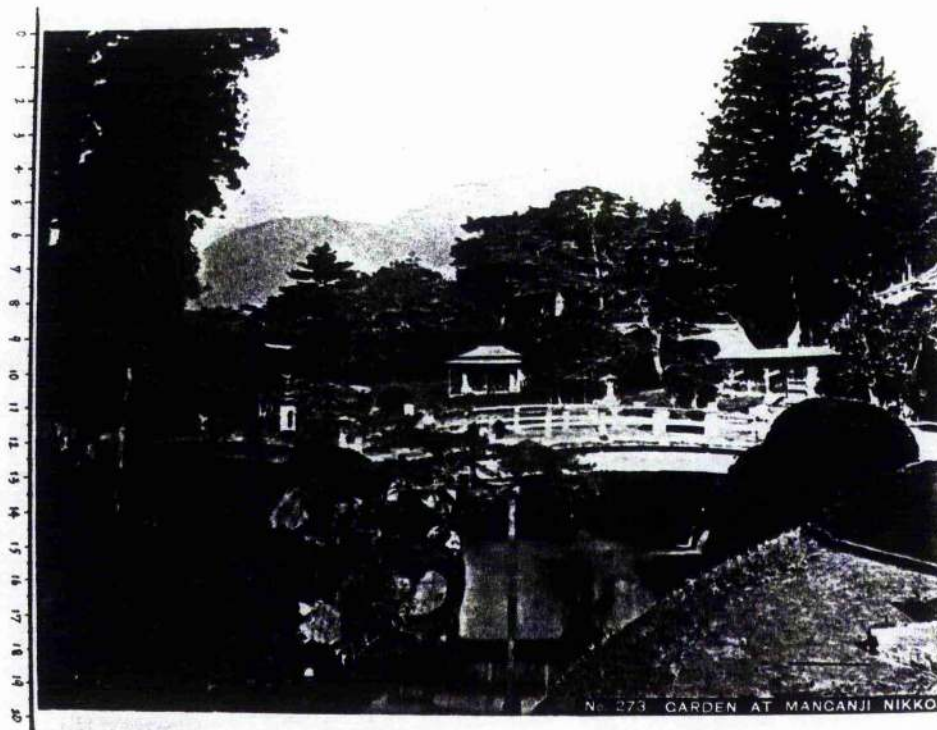


Plate. 248. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Garden at Manganji, Nikkou[Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

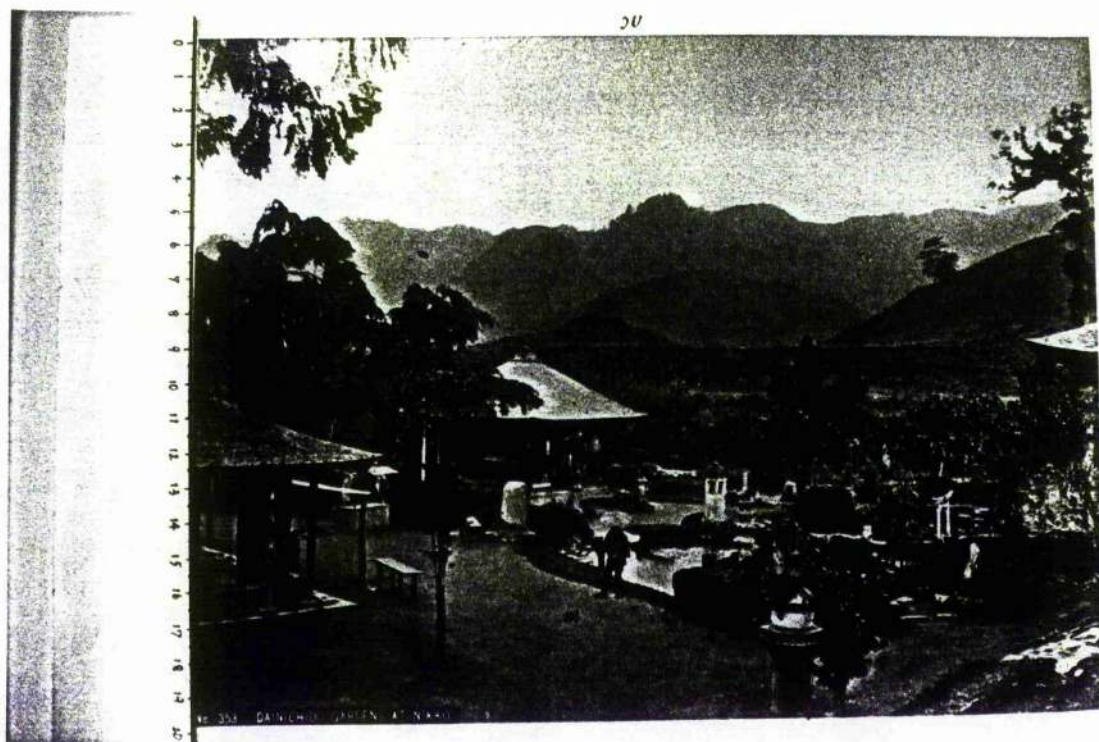


Plate. 249. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Dainichido Gardens at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

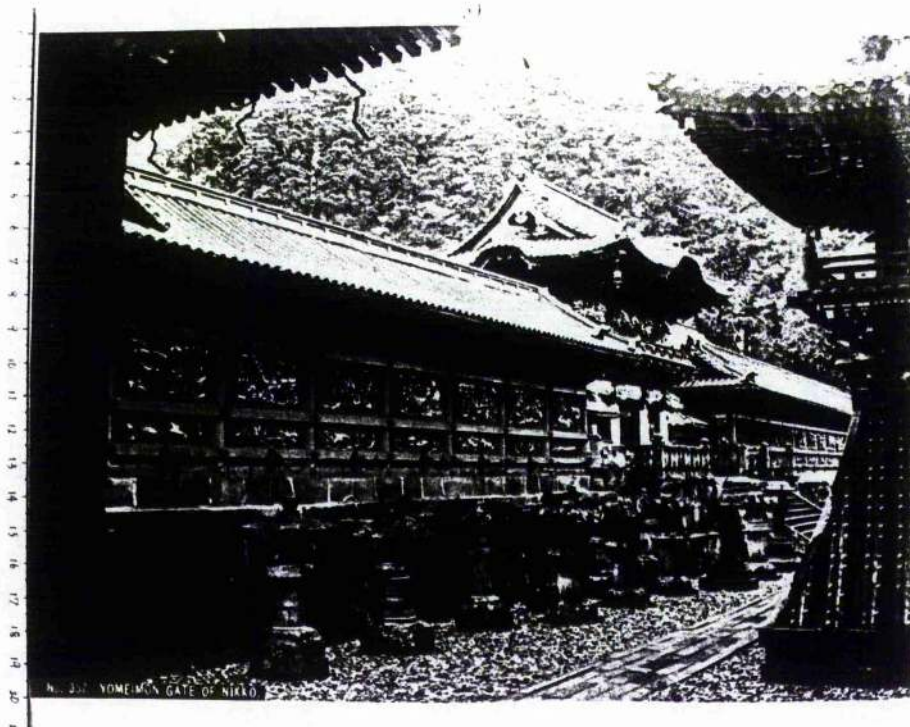


Plate. 250. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Yomeimon Gate of Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

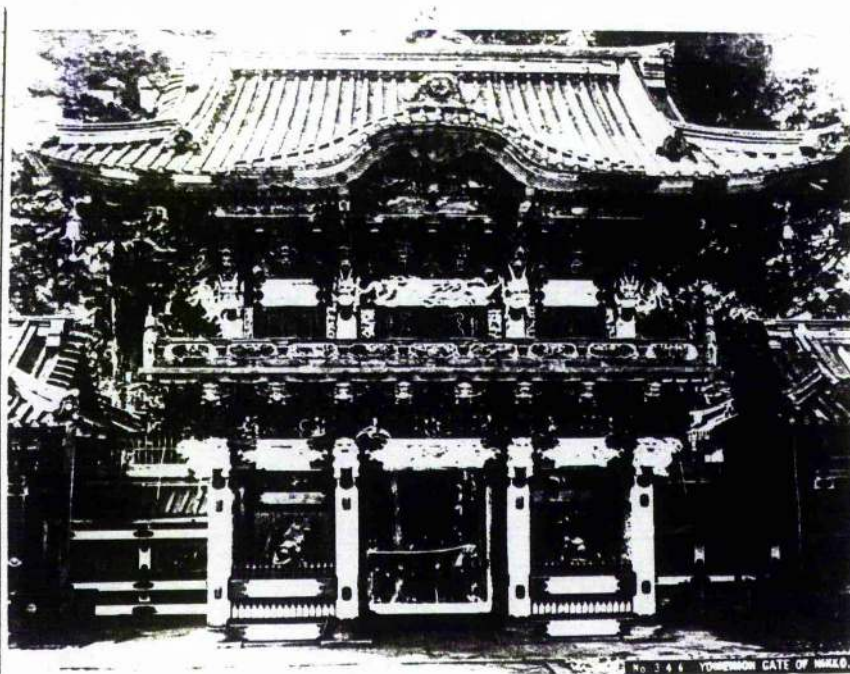


Plate. 251. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Do [Yomeimon Gate of Nikko]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

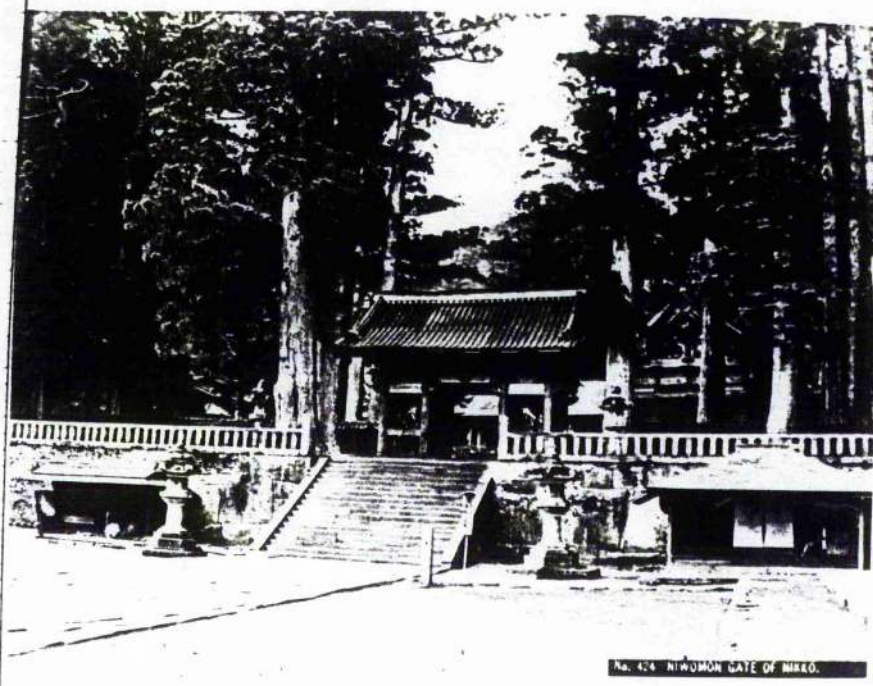


Plate. 252. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Niwomon gate of Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

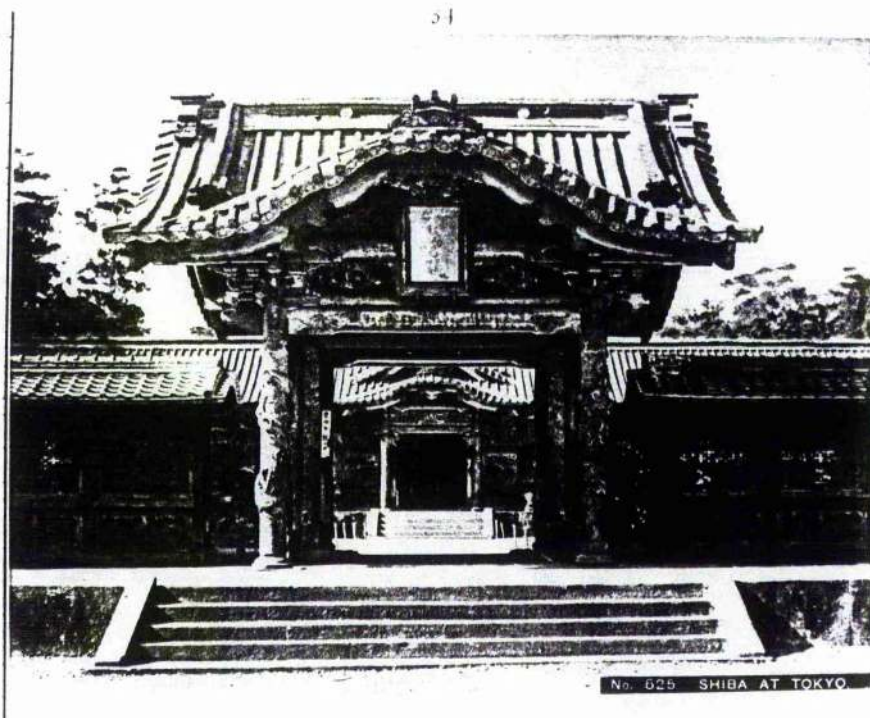


Plate. 253. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shiba at Tokio [The Gate of the Tokugawa Family Cemetery-Yushoin-den]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 254. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Manganji at Nikko* [Main Hall of Manganji, Sanbutsudo], albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

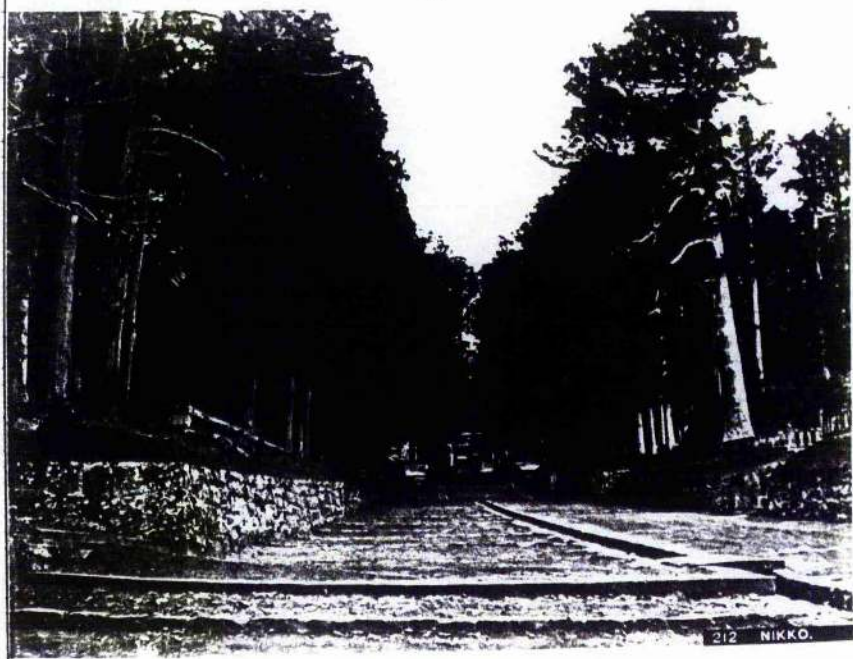


Plate. 255. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Nikko* [The Road to the Nioumon Gate of Daikenin], albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 256. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Karamon at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 257. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shiba at Nikko* [The Gate of the Tokugawa Family Cemetery-Yushoin-den], albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

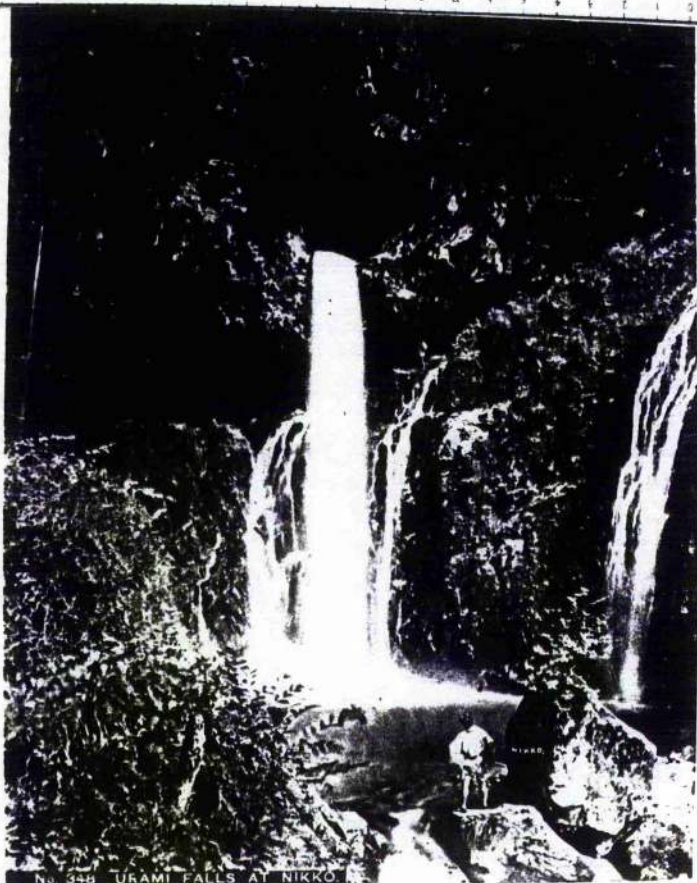


Plate. 258. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Urami Falls at Nikko*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

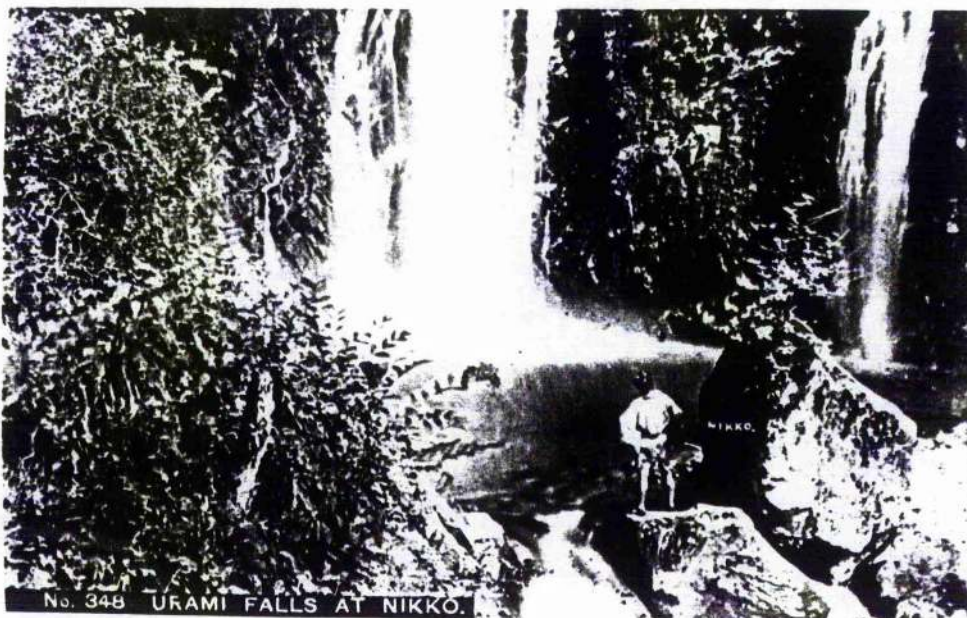


Plate. 258a. Detail of Plate. 258.

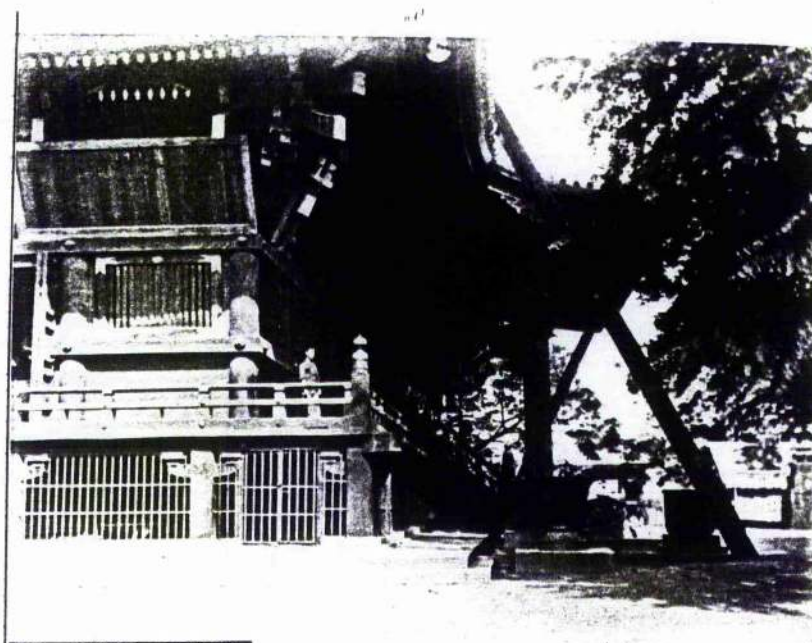


Plate. 259. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Asakusa at Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

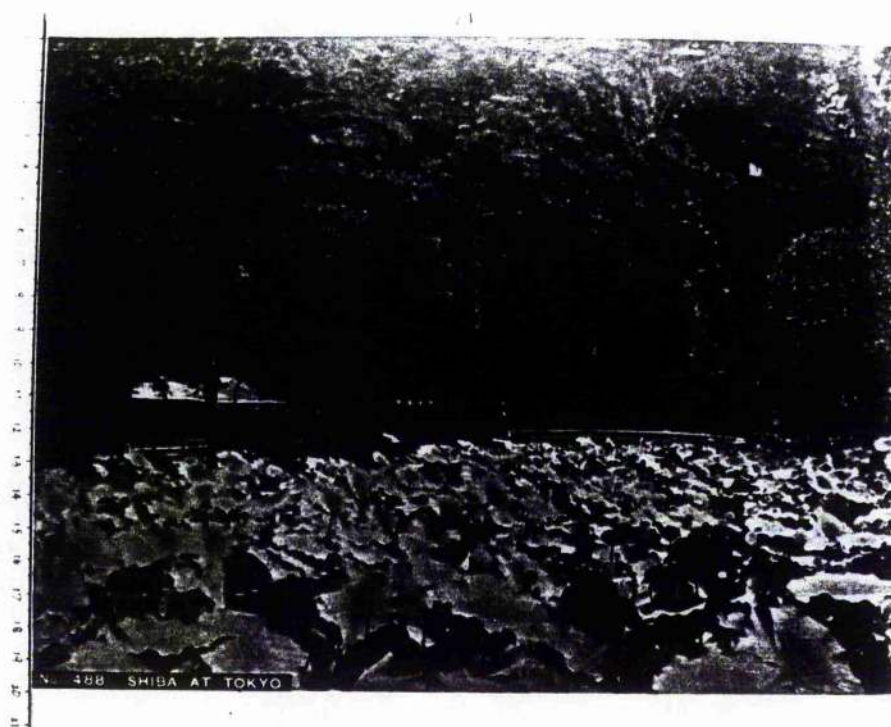


Plate. 260. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shiba at Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

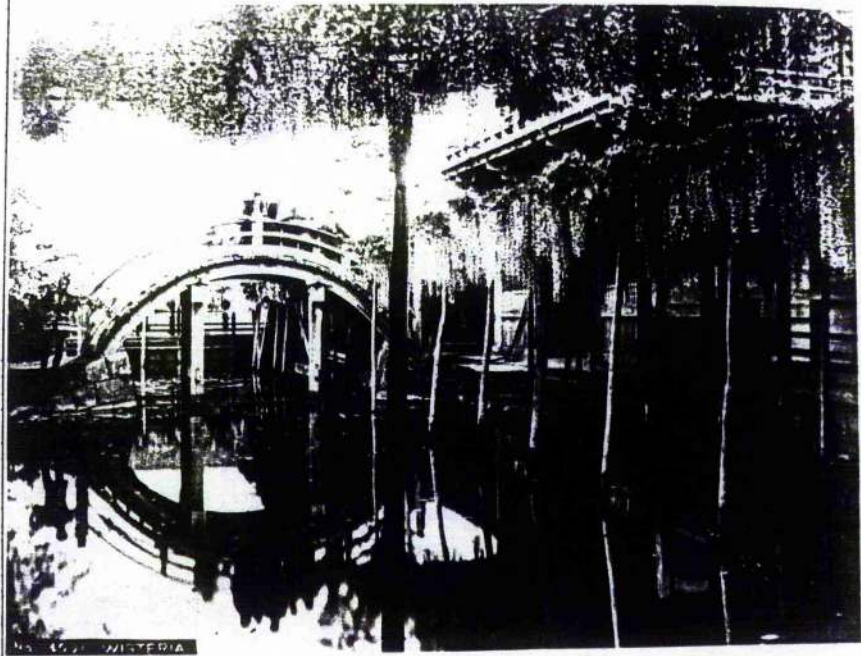


Plate. 261. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Wisteria in Japan* [*Wisteria at Kamedo Tenjin*], albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

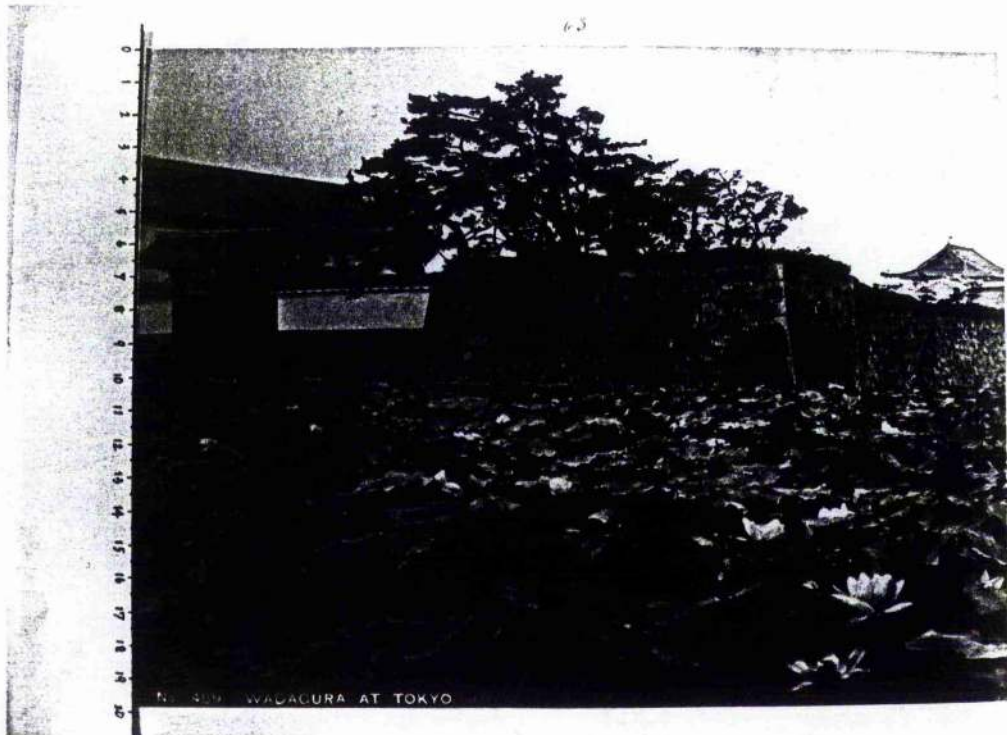


Plate. 262. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Wadagura at Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 263. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Tea-house at Uyeno, Tokio*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

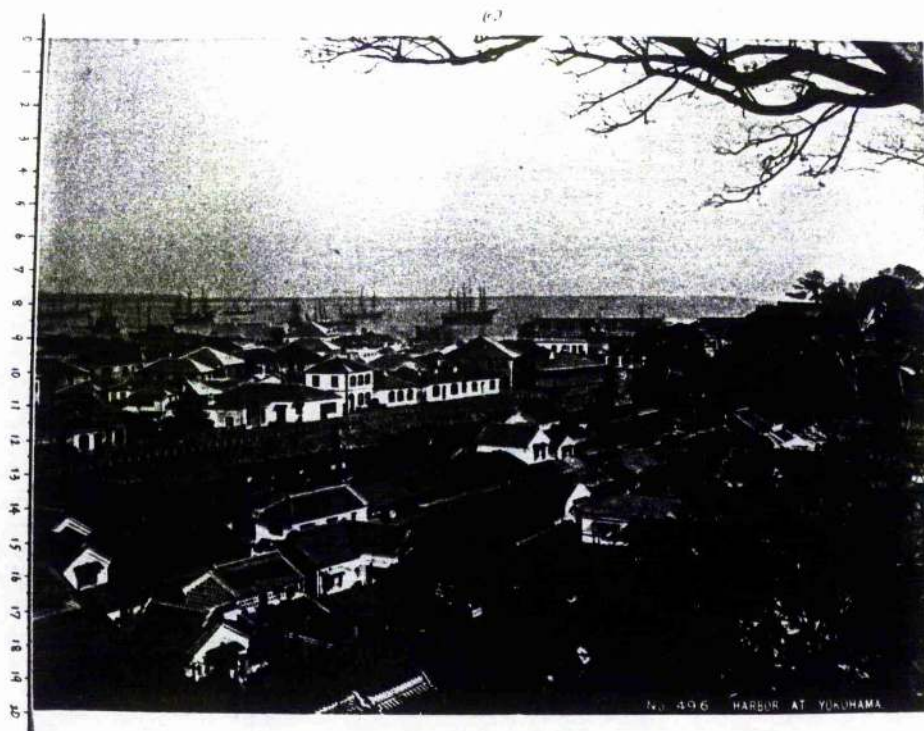


Plate. 264. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Harbour at Yokohama [Yokohama from the Motomachi 100 Steps]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 265. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Grand Hotel at Do. [Yokohama Grand Hotel]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

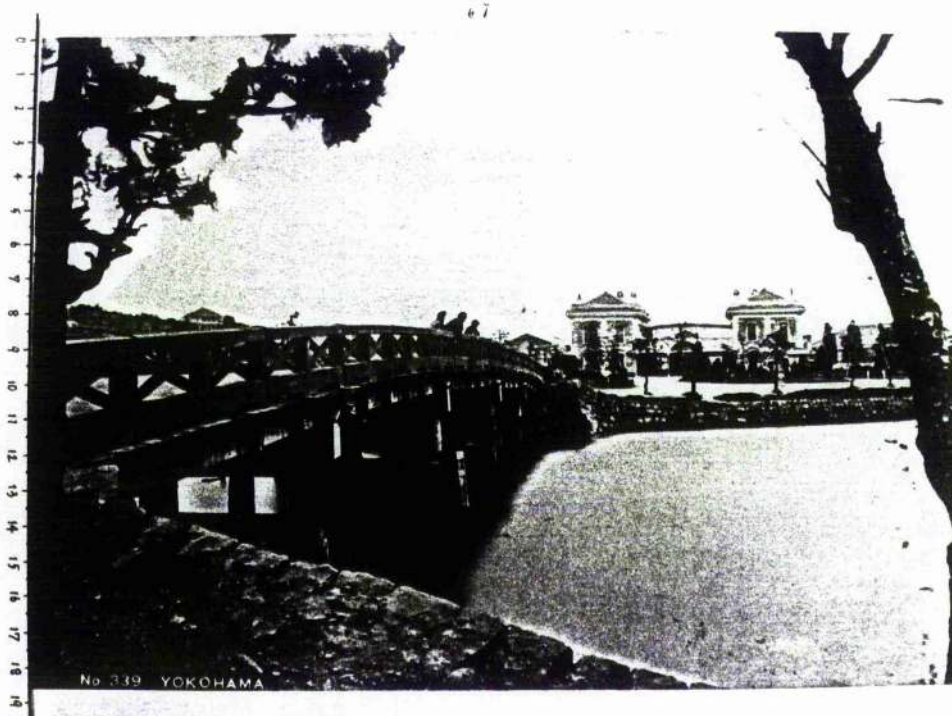


Plate. 266. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Yokohama [Yokohama Train Station and Benten Bridge]*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

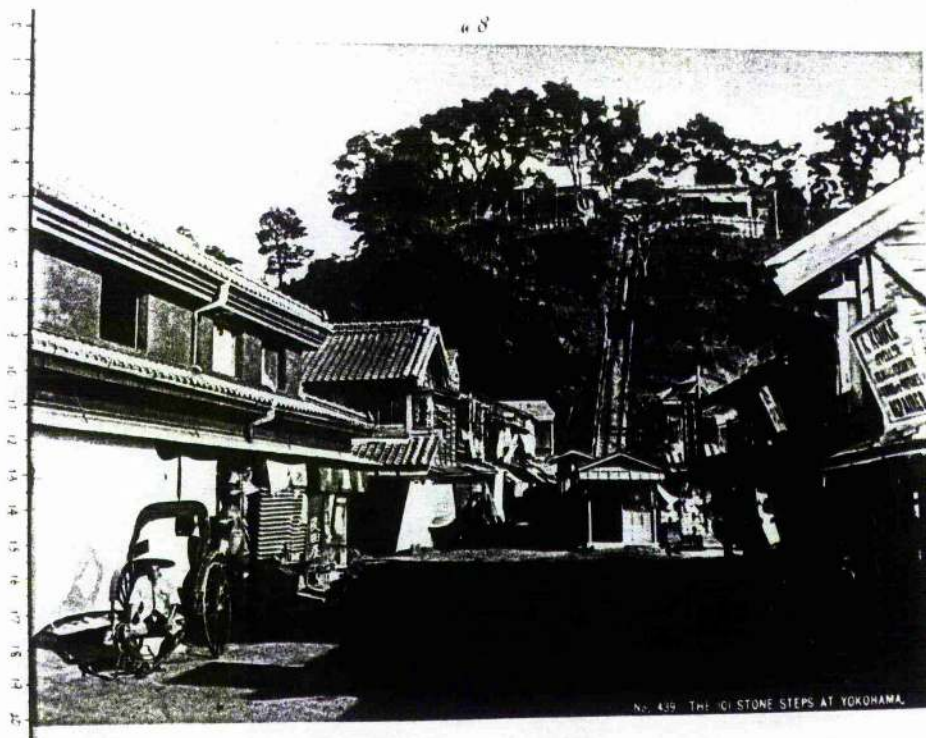


Plate. 267. Kozaburo Tamamura, *The 101 Steps at Yokohama*, albumen tinted print, 1880s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

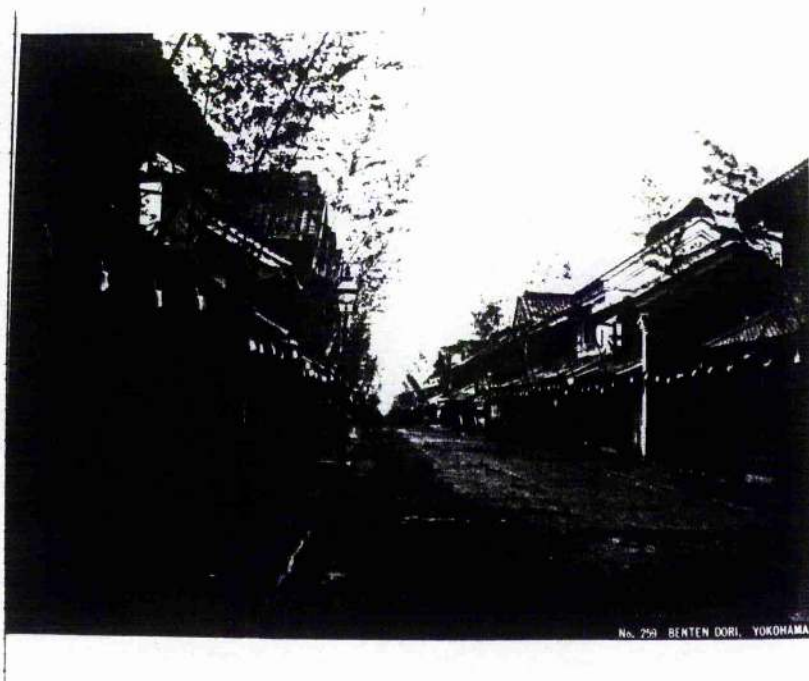


Plate. 268. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Benten Dori, Yokohama*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

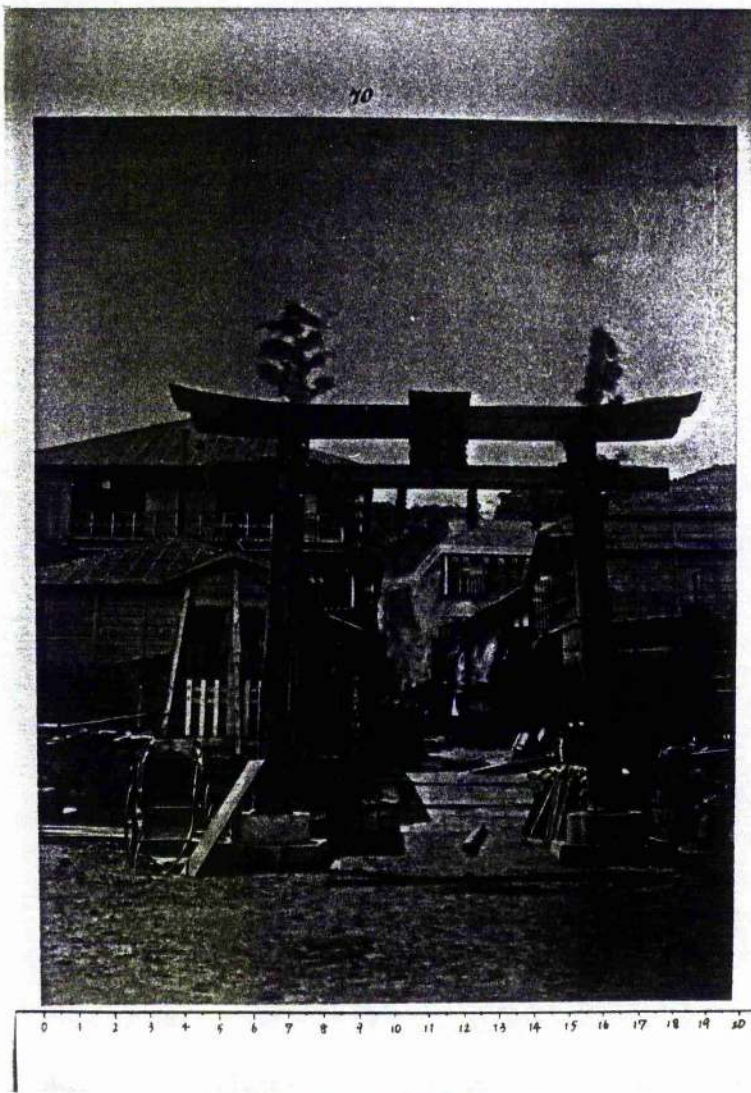


Plate. 269. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Shinto Gate, Kokohama*[Yokohama] [*Blue Copper Gate at Entrance to Yeno Island*], albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

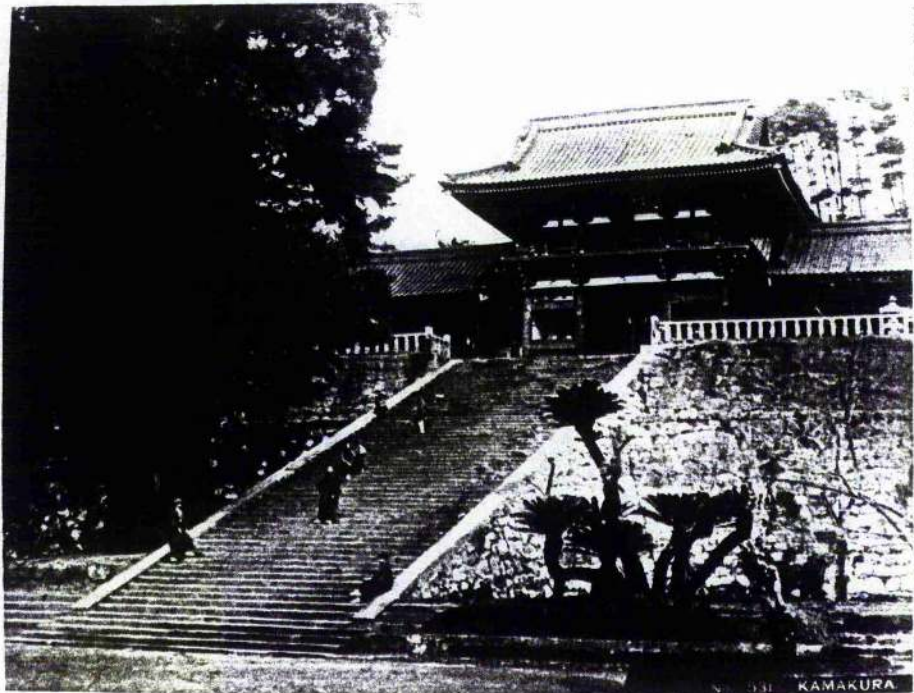


Plate. 270. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Kamakura Temple* [*Kamakura Temple with Hidden Ginkgo Tree*], albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

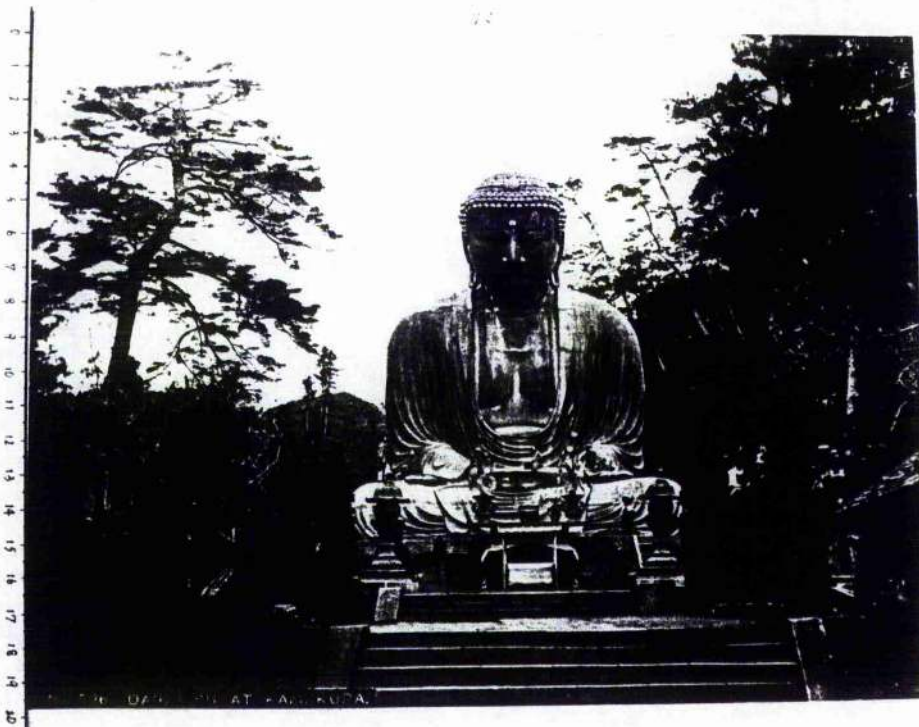


Plate. 271. Kozaburo Tamamura, *Daibutsu at Kamakura*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 272. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Girl Dressing*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

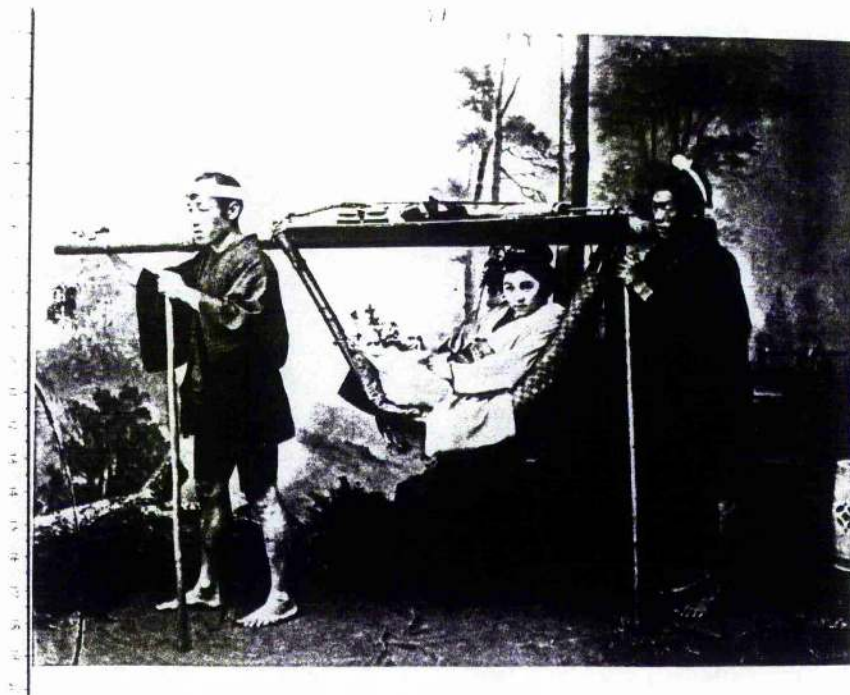


Plate. 273. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Sedan-Chair or Kago* [Two kagokaki-Carrying Men with Woman Customer], albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

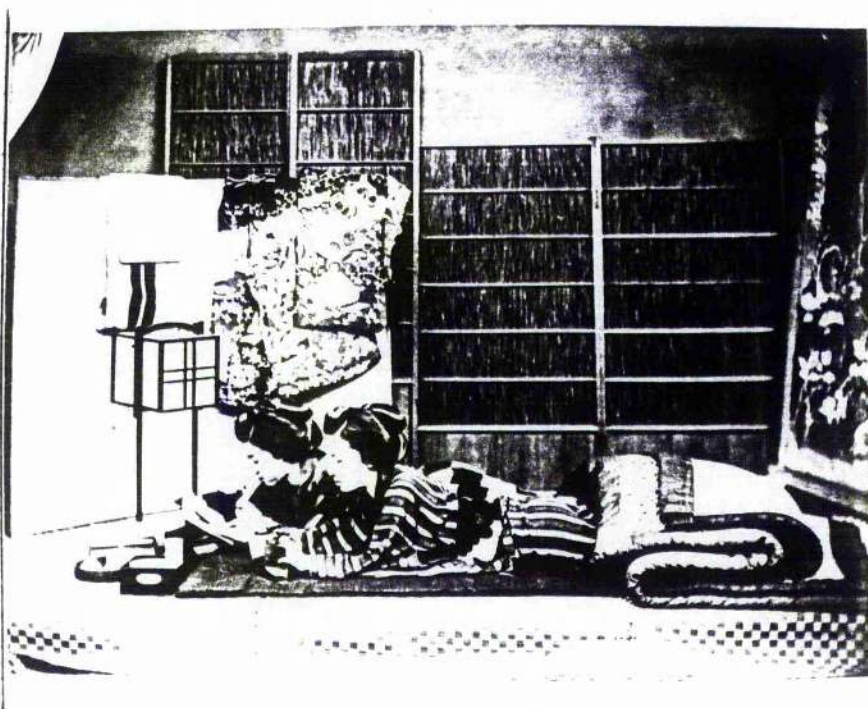


Plate. 274. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Room with Beds* [Two Women Reading and Preparing Tobacco on a Futon (Japanese Bed)], albumen print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 275. Felice Beato, *Japanese Mother & Child*, albumen tinted print, 1870s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 276. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Girl in Good Costume [Best Clothes]*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 277. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Music - Girls* [*Girls Playing Koto and Shamisen*], albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 278. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Dancing - Girls*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 279. Anonymous photographer, *Japanese Girl*, albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

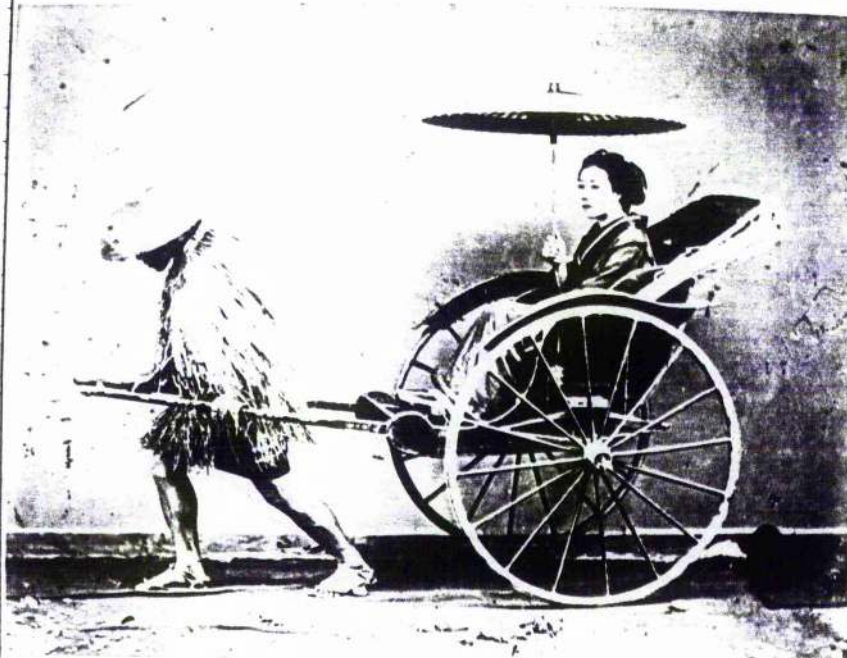


Plate. 280. Anonymous photographer, *Karuma*[*Kuruma*] or *Jinrickshaw* [*Rickshaw with Woman Customer*], albumen tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

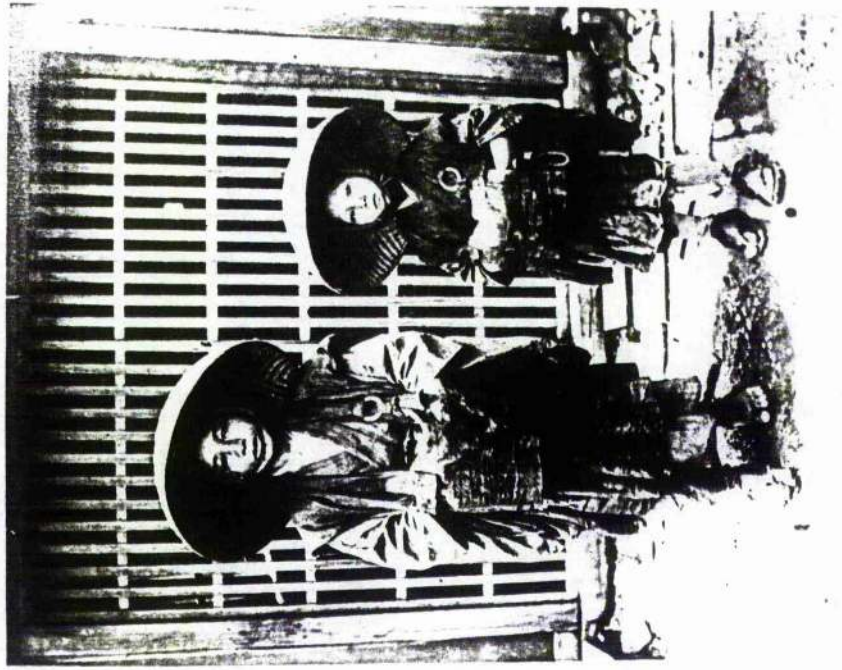


Plate. 281. Anonymous photographer,
Two Japanese Beggars [*Actually Pilgrims,
Mother and Child*], albumen tinted print,
1870s-80s. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 282. Anonymous photographer,
Rickshaw Puller [*Tattooed Man*],
albumen tinted print, 1870s. National
Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 283. Anonymous photographer,
Japanese Bhuddist[Buddhist] Priest, albumen
tinted print, 1870s-80s. National Library of
Scotland, Edinburgh.

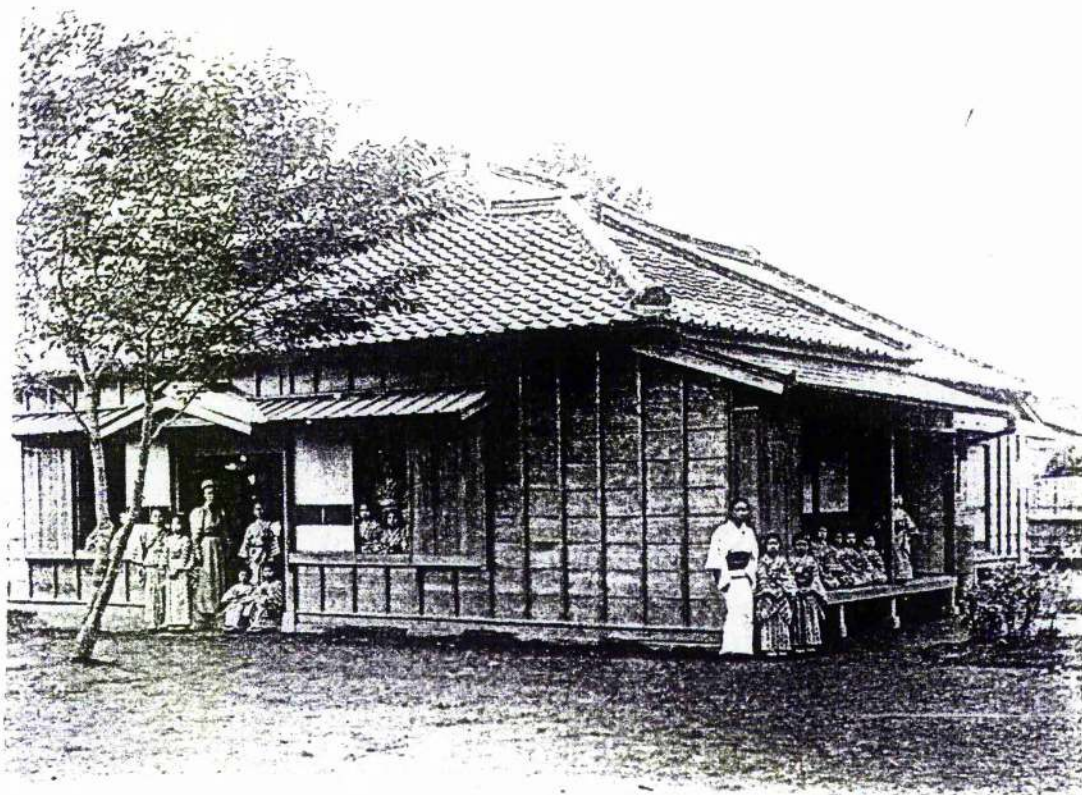


Plate. 284. Isabella Bird, *John Bishop Orphanage. Tokyo*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 285. Isabella Bird, *Gifu Orphans [John Bishop Orphanage. Tokyo]*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

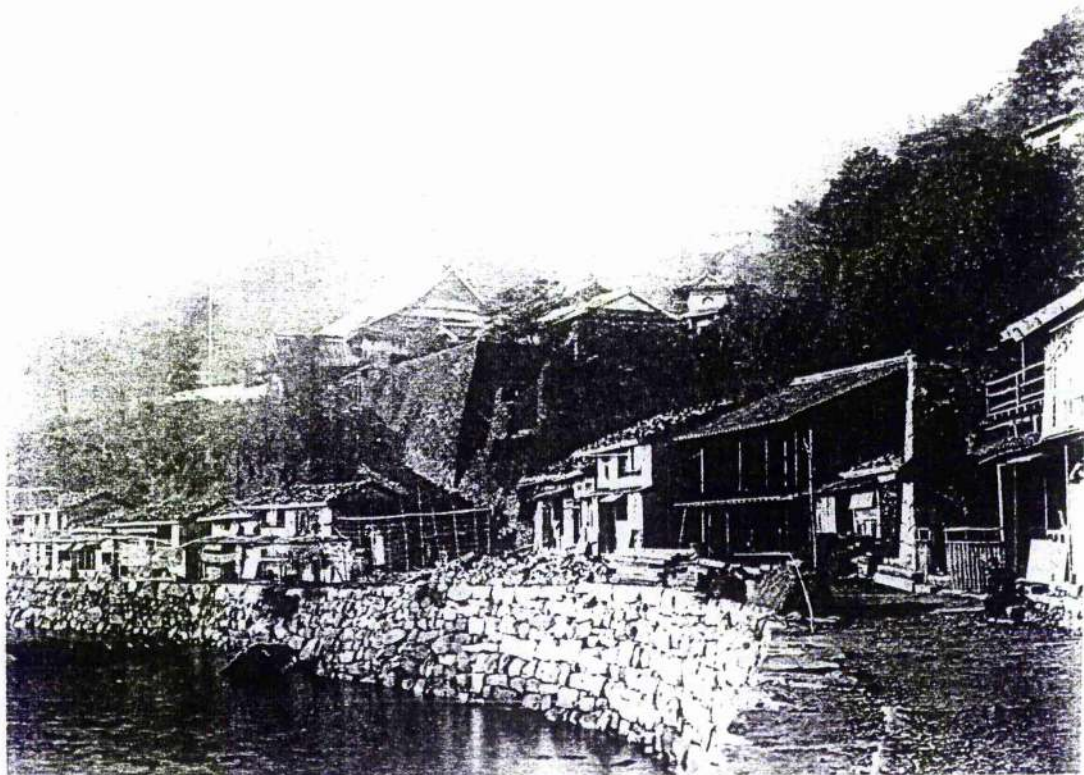


Plate. 286. Isabella Bird, *Tsushima*[*Itsukushima*?] *Temples*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

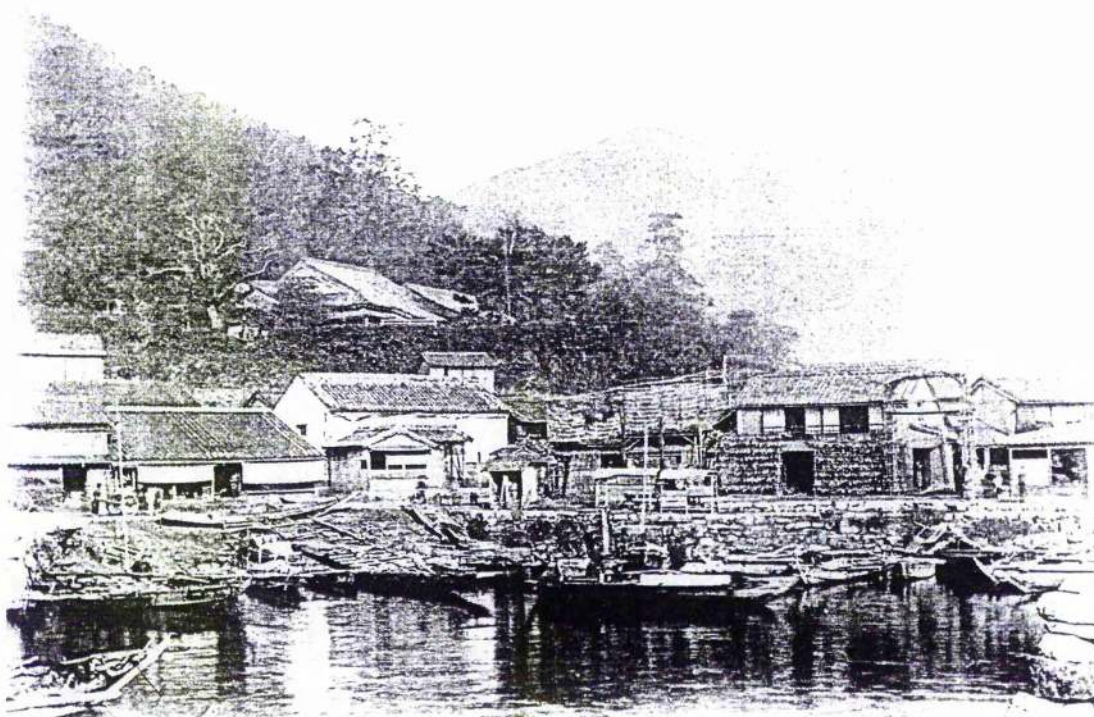


Plate. 287. Isabella Bird, *Tsushima*[*Itsukushima*?] *Village*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

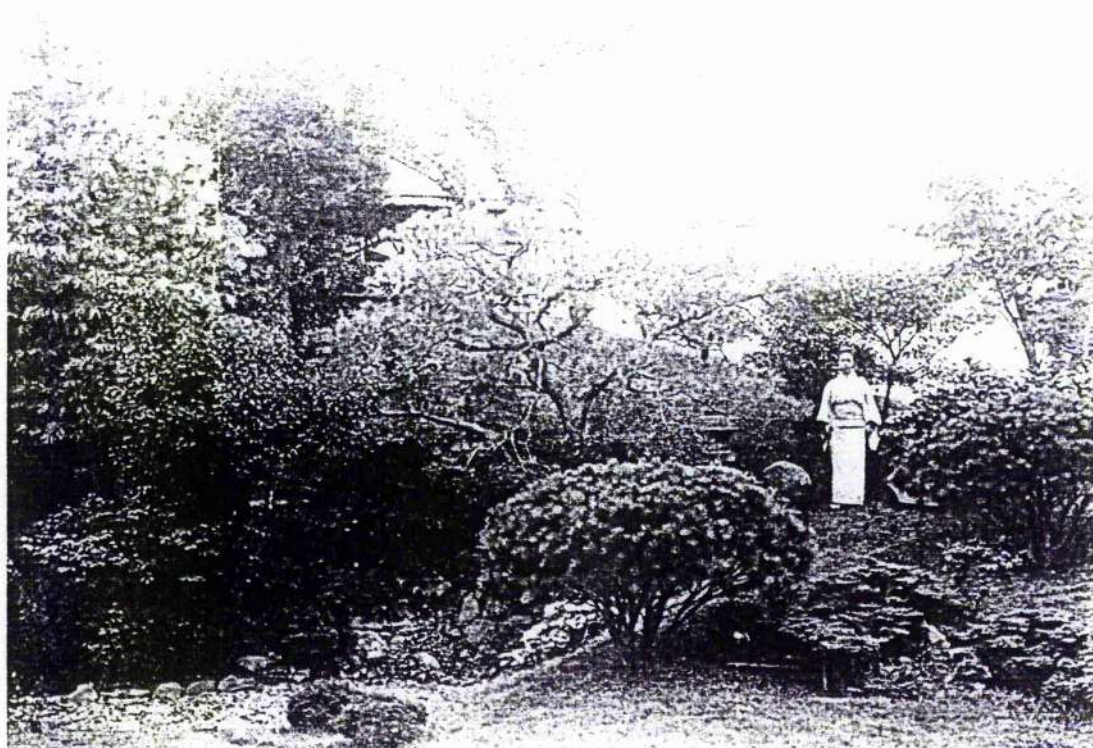


Plate. 288. Isabella Bird, *A Japanese Garden*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 289. Isabella Bird, *Tea House Servant*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

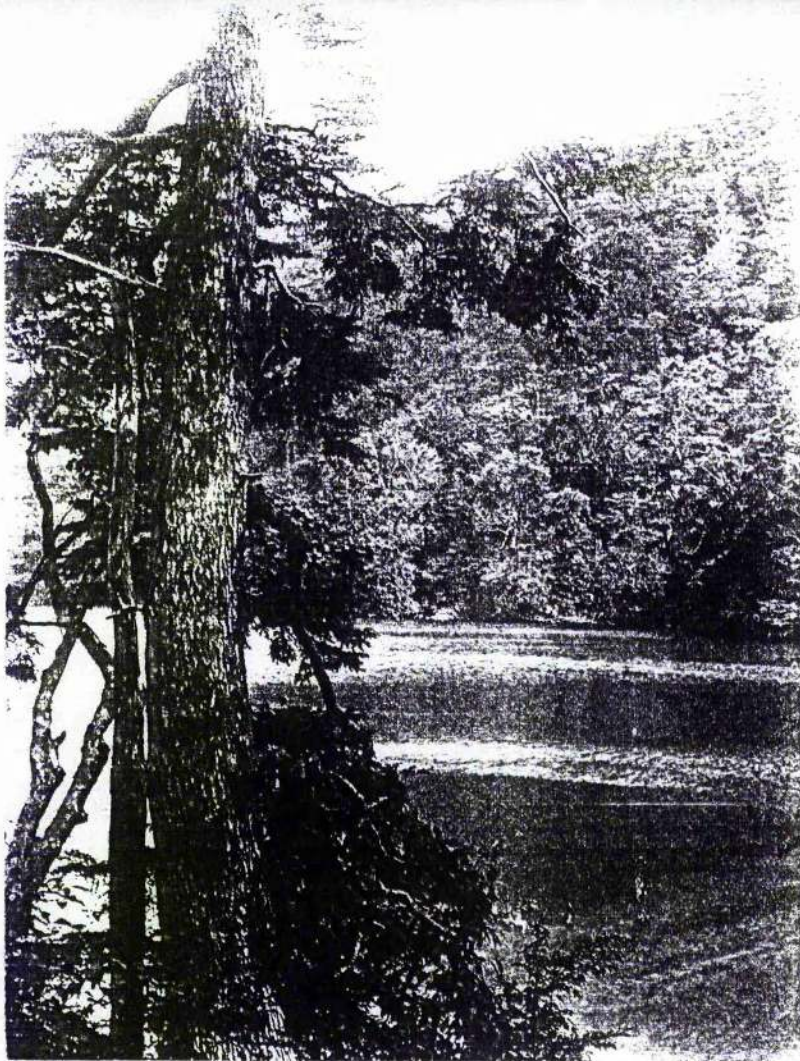


Plate. 290. Isabella Bird, *On Chuzenji Lake*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

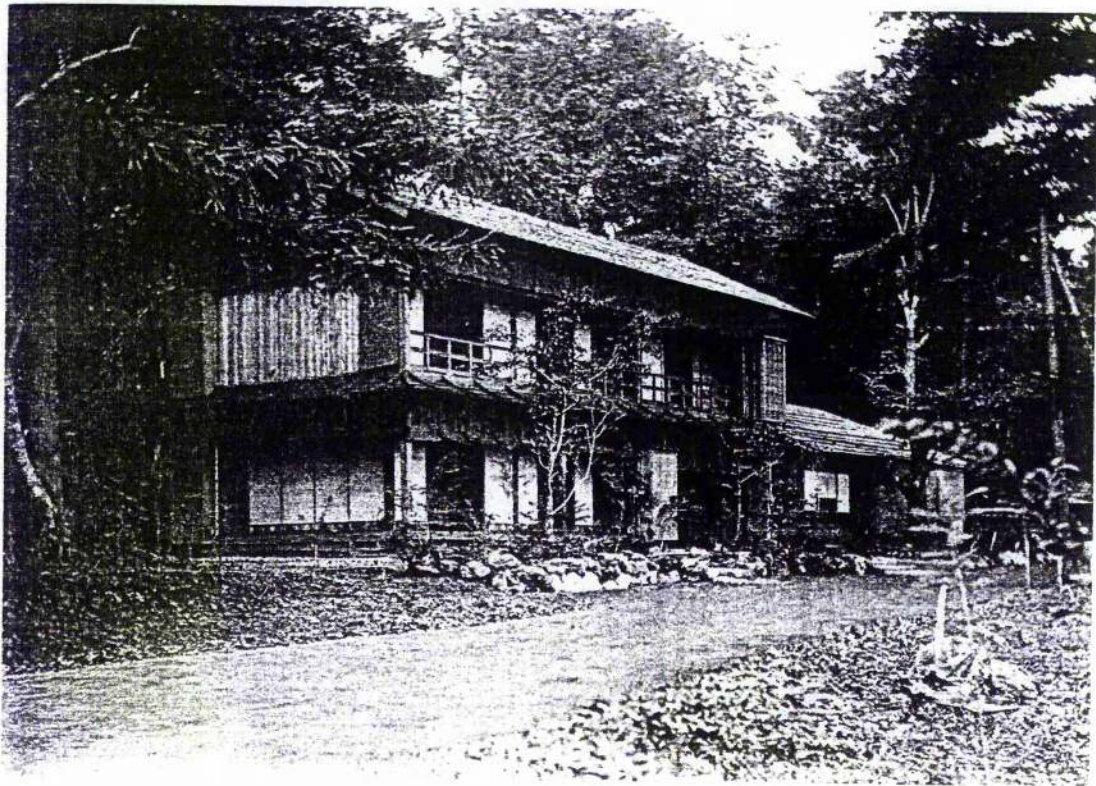


Plate. 291. Isabella Bird, *A Japanese Inn*, collotype, 1880. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

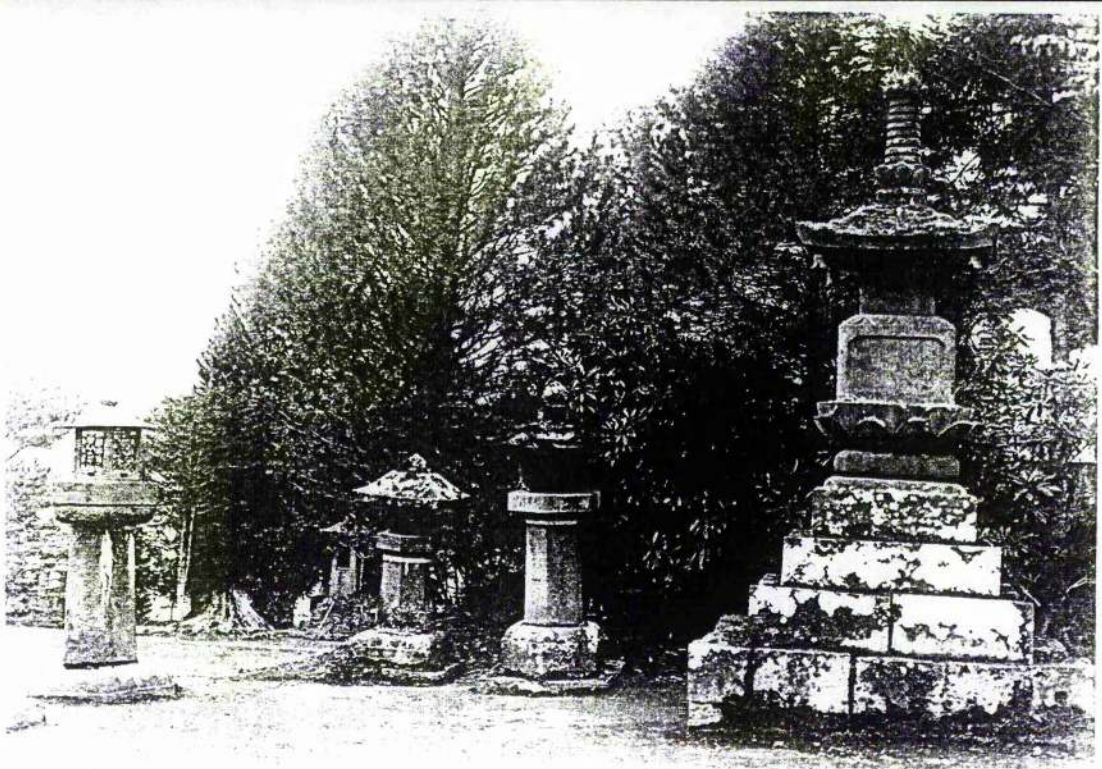


Plate. 292. Isabella Bird, *Stone Lanterns. Chuzenji*, collotype, 1880.
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

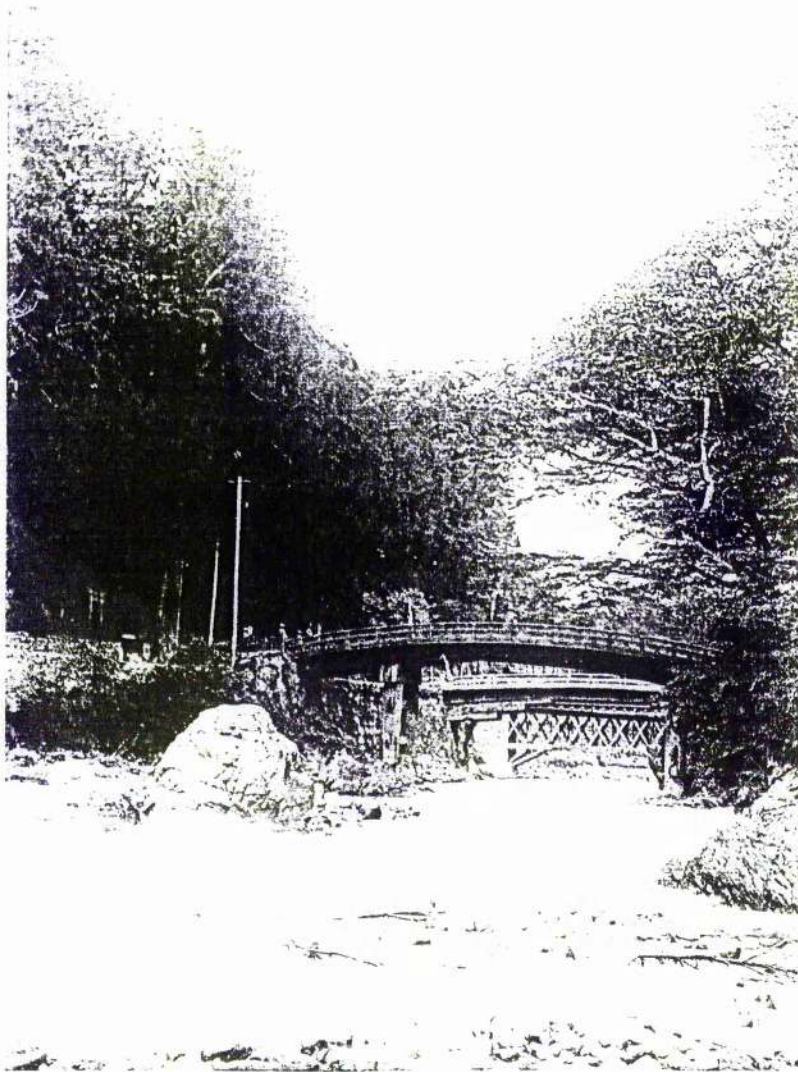


Plate. 293. Isabella Bird, *Red Bridge. Nikko*, collotype, 1880.
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 294. Isabella Bird, *Chuzenji Lake from Tozawa*, collotype, 1880.
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Plate. 295. Baron Raimund von
Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Portrait of a Woman*],
albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish
National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

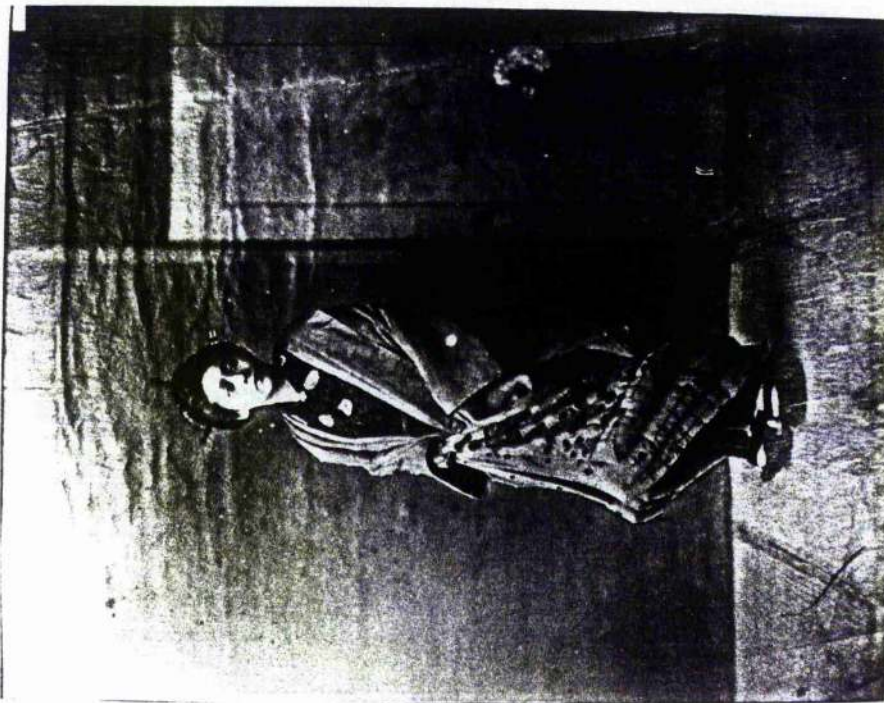


Plate. 296. Baron Raimund von
Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Portrait of Oiran*
in Zashiki], albumen tinted print, 1870s.
Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 297. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz[?], [*Portrait of Sitting Woman with Fan*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

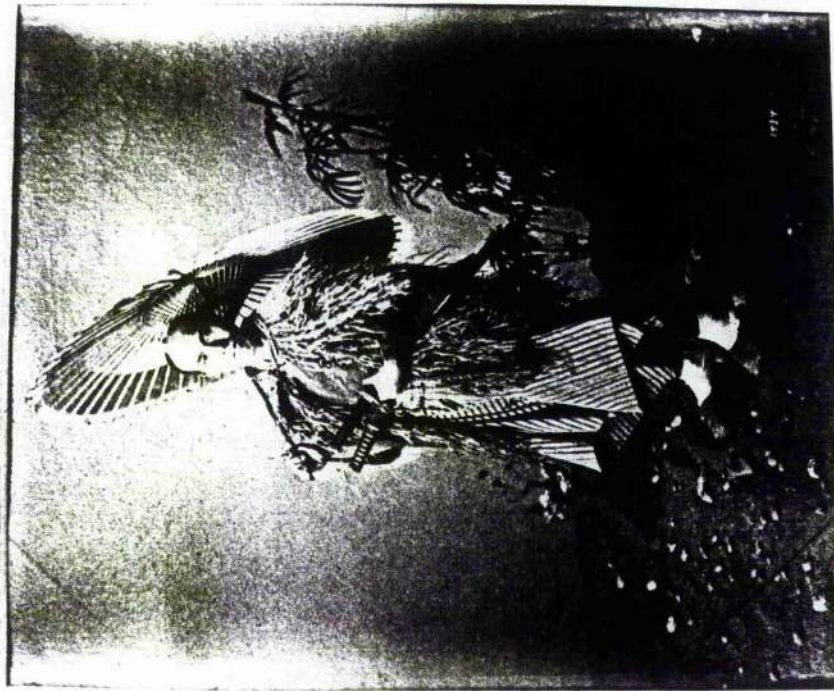


Plate. 298. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Samurai in Rainy Day Costume, Kasa(Umbrella), Mino (Straw Rain Cape) and Geta (High Soled Sandals)*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 299. Anonymous photographer, [*Tattooed Man*], albumen tinted print, 1870s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 300. Shozaburo Kuwada, *The Dochu of Tayu, Kioto*, albumen tinted print, 1877-1890s. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 301. Hikoma Uyeno,
[Studio Portrait of a Western Man],
carte de visite, c1860s-90s. Scottish
National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

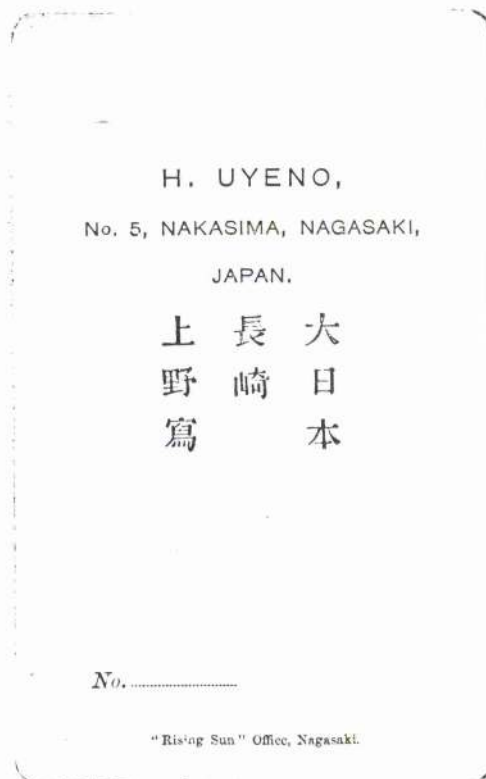


Plate. 301a. Standard reverse of Plate.301.



Plate. 302. Tokoku Shimizu,
[Studio Portrait of a Western
Man and Two Japanese Men],
carte de visite, 1868-72. Scottish
National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 302a. Standard reverse of Plate. 302.



Plate. 303. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, [*Studio Portrait of a Western Man*], *carte de visite*, 1876-79. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 303a. Standard reverse of Plate. 303.



Plate. 304. Shinichi Suzuki,
[*Studio Portrait of a Western Man*],
carte de visite, 1884-92. Scottish
National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Plate. 304a. Standard reverse of Plate. 304.